Motor Racing Hungarian Grand Prix

Runaway victory for Hill as Schumacher is left in the pits

Alan Henry in Budapest

DAMON HILL dramatically revived his world championship challenge here on Sunday with a brilliant flag-to-flag victory in the Hungarian Grand Prix. He headed David Coulthard across the line to score the Williams team's first one-two finish of the season.

It was a convincing reassertion of Hill's credentials as a world-class driver, which had been questioned after his collision with Michael Schumacher at Silverstone and his spin while leading at Hockenheim. "It was the best win of my F1 career," he said.

Hill convincingly outdistanced Schumacher from the start, leading on every one of the 77 laps to slash the German driver's championship advantage by 10 points to 11.

Coulthard ran second for the first 13 laps before Schumacher slipped past when the Scot got his Williams slightly sideways coming through one of the chicanes.

Schumacher looked on course to finish a strong second until his Benetton-Renault was sidelined by an electrical failure with only four laps left when he was running 11 seconds behind Hill. It was the world champion's first breakdown in 17 races.

"It was a race I had to win, and I won it, so it was a bit of a pay-back day for me," Hill said. "I think we were pretty well in control throughout. When you bust a gut for 77 laps and get on the rostrum and get that sort of reception it's just great. It's been a fantastic day. It was a tremendous race and Michael put the pressure on, but I proved I could beat him one-on-one. It's been a great weekend for the team to get a one-two.

"Everything went to plan. After Schumacher's last stop we needed a clean stop to get out ahead of him again, but traffic was a problem and it was not over until he dropped out. I was mighty relieved, but I think we had him beaten."

Schumacher's race strategy was compromised by a malfunction in his refuelling rig valve which resulted in his Benetton being short-changed by approximately 15 litres at the first pit-stop on lap 17.

This meant he had to make an earlier-than-scheduled second stop only nine laps later, by which time the Benetton team had discarded their original rig and switched to using that allocated to Johnny Herbert on both cars.

Hill's commanding pole position with Coulthard alongside him and Schumacher on the second row gave the Englishman a golden opportunity to build an early lead.

Everything went perfectly at the start, with Coulthard dutifully slotting into second place to neutralise Schumacher's immediate challenge.

At the end of the opening lap Hill was already 1.3sec ahead, and he put on a dramatic sprint in the early stages, opening a 15.3sec lead before Schumacher nipped ahead of Coulthard midway round lap 13.

Hill and Schumacher made their first stops on lap 17, and Hill resumed with just over 8sec in hand over his rival. Thereafter he maintained the upper hand, and the only moment of anxiety came on lap 44 when he got sideways at the chicane, just as Coulthard had done. Schumacher edged alongside but Hill closed the door. "It was a case of the boot being very firmly on the other foot," said Hill, glowing with satisfaction.

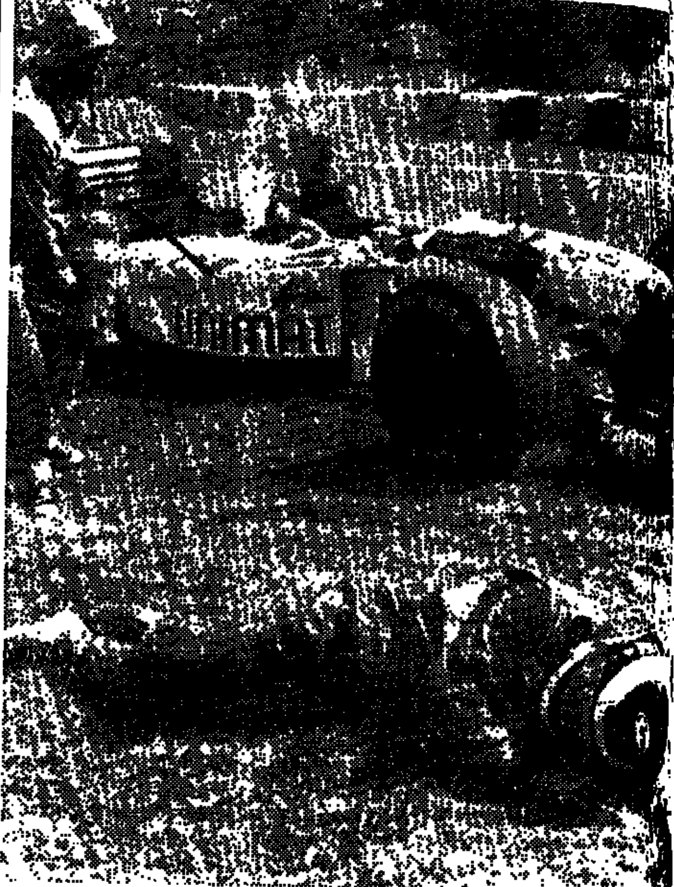
Hill's victory here has put the seal on a new $10 million contract to drive for Williams next season. With Renault, the engine suppliers to Williams and Benetton, seething with frustration at the impending loss of Schumacher to Ferrari, Hill has played his negotiating card brilliantly to vault into the upper ranks of Formula One earners.

It is believed that Hill was made a firm offer to join Benetton as Schumacher's successor in 1996, only for Frank Williams to match the offer and secure Hill's services for the fourth consecutive season.

With Schumacher now out of the Renault equation for 1996, Hill and Williams can reassert their advantage over Benetton, who will sign the unpredictable Frenchman Jean Alesi to take over their No 1 entry.

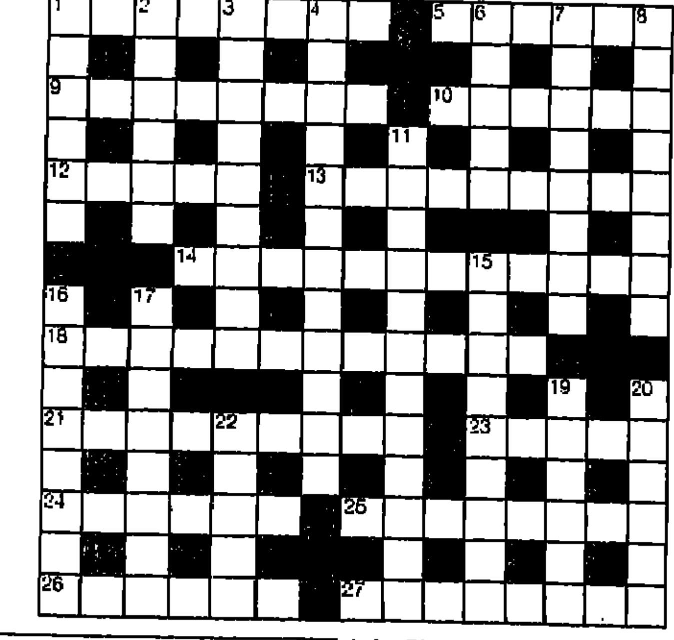
If Hill's victory emphasised his tendency to perform best when the odds seem stacked against him, the comparative performance of his team-mate continues to puzzle. Admittedly Coulthard was dogged by tonsillitis early on and has suffered with poor mechanical reliability. But, given his one-year contract with Williams, with no options on either side, they have replaced him for 1996 with Jacques Villeneuve, a leading IndyCar driver.

Coulthard's failure to race on terms with Schumacher at Hockenheim or Hill at Budapest has convinced observers that the 24-year-old Scot is not quite quick enough to gain a place in Formula One's elite.



Accident prone . . . Taki Inoue, fresh from being shunted by a course car during practice at Monte Carlo, was hit by a marshal's car when he ran for a fire extinguisher after his Footwork-Ha[illegible] broke down. He was not badly hurt

Cryptic crossword by Chifonie



Across

1 Phaeton's exchanged for another sort of coach (8)
5 The hacker is said to be safe (6)
9 Sickly princess's made comfortable (8)
10 Wades across outlying island's inlets (6)
12 Mark's punishment (5)
13 Moralist's disconcerted by canvas (9)
14 Government Department gives ill-treated pet affection (6,6)
18 Listen to the management or be discarded (2,2,3,5)
21 Diver is an original signatory in coalition (9)
23 Tree from New Zealand — not syringa I opine (5)
24 Require pupil to point to badger (6)
25 Condemn study that has little weight (8)
26 An extension includes new canopy (6)
27 The guilty party postponed the finish with a hesitation (8)

Down

1 Lumber auction captivates theologian (6)
2 Agree condition at the time of despatch (6)
3 Man notices sharp edge (4,5)
4 Push a button to get a news sheet (5,7)
6 Element (not sulphur) elicits disgust (5)
7 Queue endlessly for antiseptic (8)
8 Marxist conceals answer, being determined (8)
11 Home help's retort to being overworked? (2-2-8)
15 Organise lead for an energetic dance (9)
16 Middle-Easterner in time got over narcissism (8)
17 A mountain shelters two rivers and a city (8)
19 Bacchante's crazy about another woman (6)
20 Crease party clothes (3-3)
22 Worn out during an evil uprising (3,2)

Last week's solution

T		P		B		H		O		S		O		A
H	O	R	S	E	H	A	I	R		U	P	P	E	R
E		E		L		S		S		S		P		M
L	E	T	S	O	U	T		I	M	P	R	O	V	E
I		O		W		I		N		E		S		D
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H	E	A	R	T	E	N	I	N	G		P	I	P	E
E		D		T		E		I		A		E		T
L	A	D	D	E	R	S		S	T	R	A	N	G	E
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Cricket Fifth Test England v West Indies

All square before the Oval

Mike Selvey at Trent Bridge

ANY hope that either side may have had of sneaking a victory against the head effectively ended at 2.45pm on Monday when Sherwin Campbell, a fielder of the highest calibre, failed to catch Mike Watkinson at midwicket.

It was the cricketing equivalent of the six-inch putt and it would have given Courtney Walsh his 300th Test wicket. But most importantly it would have seen England bowled out in their second innings for 191. At that stage, with a recalculation of overs based on time remaining, West Indies would have been required to chase 215 to win from 41 overs, and the game was still on.

Subsequent events reduced everything to hypothesis. When Mike Atherton declared after tea, England had reached 269 for nine and Watkinson had made 82 lively runs, having batted for 17 minutes short of three hours.

The last-wicket stand with Illingworth, who was batting in considerable pain from a broken finger, had lasted for 89 frustrating minutes. It yielded 80 runs and was the biggest last-wicket stand for England since Peter Willey and Bob Willis added 117 undefeated runs against West Indies at the Oval 15 years ago.

With Stuart Williams injured, West Indies responded by sending in Brian Lara to open the innings with Campbell, although they would have stood more chance of swimming home to the Caribbean than of scoring 293 to win in 20 overs.

Even in a tame draw, however, there are still psychological points to be won, and it was England who scored them, taking the wickets of both openers by the time the captains called it a day.

Kenny Benjamin's five for 69 gave him match figures of 10 for 174 and, in a batsman's game, the Man of the Match award.

The marketing men got it right in the end, and with the series remaining level at 2-2, it is down to the Oval on August 24 for the final Test. Before that, however, both sides need to retreat to assess their casualties. This match has seen Illingworth almost certainly precluded from the finale, and both Atherton and Thorpe suffered badly-bruised fingers.

News of Nick Knight was better after the dreadful blow to his head while fielding close to the bat. Though he spent Sunday night in hospital he was fit to bat on Monday.

West Indies have not escaped unscathed either. Ambrose's problems, an ankle injury to Bishop and niggles to Walsh are their biggest worries. Richie Richardson insists his men can struggle through, but they must be thinking now of adding to their party.

England 440 (Hick 118no, Atherton 113) & 269-9dec; **W Indies** 417 (Lara 152) & 42-2

The Guardian Weekly
Vol 153, No 10
Week ending September 3, 1995
The Washington Post [illegible]

Sisters Bernadette and Benedicte are accused of collaborating with killers in Rwanda PHOTO: ADRIAN ARBIB

Women 'took part in killings'

Chris McGreal

WOMEN, including nuns, nurses and teachers, took part in the brutal killings in Rwanda last year but have escaped punishment, a new report reveals. Many are working in Europe or Africa, despite joining in the genocide of the country's Tutsi minority, it says.

"Thousands of women were killed by other women. They often died at the hands of educated women, the very women who had access to political power, economic means and education," says the report by African Rights, a London-based human rights organisation.

"The extent to which women took an active role in the killings is unprecedented. This is not accidental. The architects of the holocaust sought to involve as much of the population as possible — men, women and even children as young as eight. They set out to create a nation of extremists bound together by the blood of genocide. If everyone was involved . . . there would be no one to point an accusing finger."

The report, which says the women are again working in positions of responsibility for others' welfare, is full of examples of enthusiastic participation by women in the genocide, in which at least 500,000 people died. They range from government ministers and domestic servants to teenage girls who acted as the "cheerleaders", singing and ululating the killers into action.

"The most prominent female killers, such as Pauline Nyiramasuhuko, had their sons as drivers . . . and partners in crime. Many of these young men were prominent killers in their own right, but the reputation of their mothers as fierce killers heightened their standing [and] gave them additional opportunities to kill, abduct, loot and rape."

There were many instances of bravery, such as the Hutu and foreign nuns in Kibuye who sheltered their Tutsi sisters and a group of orphans. But such bravery was overshadowed by the role of others. African Rights accuses two Benedictine nuns — Gertrude Mukangango, a mother superior, and Julienne Kizito, from a convent in Butare — of asking the Hutu army to drive out thousands of Tutsi refugees who had stormed the convent.

"Sister Julienne worked directly with the killers, standing in their midst while they massacred refugees, handing out jerrycans of petrol which were used in her presence to burn people alive." Sister Gertrude and Sister Julienne are sheltering in a Belgian monastery.

Two nuns are in Kigali awaiting trial. African Rights says Bernadette Mukarusine and Benedicte Mukanyangezi from Shyorongi identified Tutsis in their area to Hutu militias, including children hidden by a priest.

Of those who abused positions of trust none was more prominent than teachers. Some even turned on their pupils. The report, Not So Innocent, argues that it is important to document the role of women to end the immunity enjoyed by Rwanda's mass murderers.

Rwanda PM sacked, page 3

Market shelling leaves 37 dead in Sarajevo

Ed Vulliamy in Zagreb and Kurt Schork in Sarajevo

THE United States-backed peace plan for Bosnia received a crushing blow with the massacre of 37 civilians, and the wounding of 88, in the crowded centre of Sarajevo on Monday.

The carnage threatened to propel the Bosnian war into a new crisis, placing the strongest pressure on Nato and United Nations commanders to honour their pledges to defend Bosnia's "safe areas" with robust military action if they came under attack.

The Bosnian prime minister, Haris Silajdzic, said his government was ready to suspend participation in the peace process until Nato had pledged to protect Sarajevo.

However, the main architect of the US initiative, Richard Holbrooke, said the slaughter "will not stop the peace process. It will only make us redouble our efforts."

After UN soldiers analysed the shell craters in the Bosnian capital to determine their exact origin, the UN in a statement said it had "concluded beyond all reasonable doubt" that the Bosnian Serb forces had fired the 120mm mortar round, raising the possibility of air or artillery strikes against them.

The UN statement, issued in Sarajevo, came only hours after the Bosnian Serb "parliament", in an abrupt switch, welcomed the latest US peace proposals. The parliament, fearing possible retaliation, changed course suddenly on Tuesday after an all-night session.

Several children were reported among those slaughtered in the most savage assault on Sarajevo since the massacre in the same market area in February 1994. The death toll was expected to rise.

A series of shells crashed into the entrance of the Trznica covered market, the neighbouring open market and around the national theatre. Bloodied remains of the dead and the wounded were strewn across the streets.

Goods littered the pavements along with pieces of human beings and streams of blood. One shell in particular, a 120mm heavy mortar, killed about 20 people.

The attack was a manifest attempt to sabotage the peace initiative and came just hours before Bosnia's president, Alija Izetbegovic, was due to meet Mr Holbrooke in Paris. Mr Izetbegovic promised to avenge the massacre. "As far as the killers are concerned, my message to them is, we shall strike back . . . and very soon too," he said.

As the wounded were driven to Kosevo hospital in private cars, Mr Silajdzic said the peace process should be suspended "until the obligations and the role of Nato" in protecting Sarajevo were clarified.

Just hours later, shells fell on Kosevo hospital. Two patients in the neurosurgery ward were reported injured.

In effect calling off further talks in Paris, Mr Silajdzic said: "When the negotiations start seriously, they do this. If there is to be a peace process, it should not be at gunpoint. The peace process should be suspended until Nato says clearly that it will prevent these massacres and punish those who do them."

Amid an international outcry over the slaughter, the last batch of UN peacekeepers withdrew on Monday from the exposed Muslim enclave of Gorazde, a day earlier than scheduled. Their safe passage to Serbia, without hindrance from Bosnian Serb forces which surround Gorazde, extracted 77 British, four Norwegian and two Ukrainian soldiers from a zone where the UN most risked renewed hostage-taking by Serbs.

Comment, page 10

Austria	AS30	Malta	45c
Belgium	BF75	Netherlands	G 4.40
Denmark	DK16	Norway	NK 16
Finland	FM 9.50	Portugal	E300
France	FF 13	Spain	P 275
Germany	DM 3.60	Sweden	SK 17
Greece	DR 400	Switzerland	SF 3.30
Italy	L 3,000	Thailand	60 Baht

Low-paid most at risk from heart attacks

Chris Mihill

FORGET the notion that hard-pressed business executives are most likely to keel over with heart attacks. Those most at risk are bus and lorry drivers and unskilled shift workers, according to the latest research.

Many high-status executives can avoid stress by staying in control of their working lives, while blue-collar workers have little control and tend to suffer more stress, scientists reported at a heart conference last week.

Professors and forestry workers have the lowest risk of job-related heart disease while drivers of buses and lorries, taxi drivers, fishermen, bar staff and those in unskilled jobs, particularly shift workers, are most at risk.

Tage Kristiensen said: "The stereotype of stress is the businessman with a suitcase and mobile phone having lots of meetings and being under time pressure. But research shows that is not correct. Job stress and heart disease has the largest effect on the lower social strata."

Dr Kristiensen, a senior researcher at the National Institute of Occupational Health in Copenhagen, said: "Heart disease is a lower-class disease and work stress is a lower-class phenomenon."

He told the congress of the European Society of Cardiology in Amsterdam that bus drivers in Copenhagen on heavy traffic routes had six times the risk of those in light traffic. Studies of bus drivers elsewhere, including London, had the same finding.

People doing shifts were at double the risk of heart disease as those working normal hours.

Johannes Siegrist, director of the Institute of Medical Sociology at Düsseldorf university in Germany, said poor work conditions, job insecurity or unemployment caused immense distress. That could translate itself into physical symptoms.

Prof Siegrist added: "If you have a demanding job with little control and low rewards, particularly a blue-collar job, your risk of a heart attack is two to four times as high as a person in a job with lower demands and high rewards and security."

Indigenous people made to suffer for sake of tests

ONE difference between the French nuclear tests and the Chinese tests is that China is testing on its own territory. Apart from the fact that the French government considers Moruroa (which is the correct way to spell the name of the atoll) to be French territory — even if no one else does — it should be noted that the Lop Nor test site lies in a part of China where the people are not ethnically Han Chinese and which historically forms part of East Turkestan. The Chinese refer to the province as Xinjang, which means "new colony."

The indigenous people of the region claim that since testing started in 1964, some 20,000 have died from the fallout (the first 20 devices were above ground), water has been contaminated, there is a high incidence of cancer, babies have been born with horrible deformities, life expectancy has declined to the extent that the death rate is now the highest of all the Chinese provinces, and the export of livestock, fruit and vegetables — originally to Hong Kong — has been stopped.

There are frequent demonstrations, which became violent after 1980 when soldiers shot into the crowds, and according to Amnesty International, around 10,000 people have been arrested since 1990.

It is a sad irony that nuclear testing has always been at the expense of indigenous people: the US Nevada test site lies on the land of the Western Shoshone nation; the British used to test on Aboriginal land in South Australia; Soviet nuclear fallout from Novaya Zemlya blew west on to the Lapps; the first French tests were in the Sahara desert; and the above ground tests conducted by the United States contaminated and displaced the people of the Marshall Islands between 1946 and 1958.
Peter D Jones,
Lenah Valley, Tasmania, Australia

I AGREE wholeheartedly with the sentiments expressed by Hugo Young (French fallout from staunch nuclear club, August 13), but beg to differ with him on one small, but for many New Zealanders, rather significant point of detail.

Young refers to action taken by the "socialist prime minister, David Lange". Anyone even vaguely familiar with the recent political history of New Zealand will know that the use of that particular adjective severely misrepresents the nature of the fourth Labour government led by David Lange until 1989. Lange presided over a process of constitutional and economic reform which illuminated the worst excesses of unbridled cabinet government; the tragedy of it all, for many of us, was that Labour's policies in those times owed a far greater ideological debt to Hayek and Friedman than they did to Fraser and Savage (early Labour party leaders).

Labour's legacy has been continued under the current National (Tory) administration, but the fact that it was kickstarted by a "socialist" prime minister has left many here feeling more than a little betrayed and bemused.
Richard Shaw,
Palmerston North, New Zealand

I HAVE NOT noticed any protest from the British government against France's proposed nuclear tests in the Pacific. If there has been one I do it an injustice, but it should be louder. If there has not been one, I presume the Government wants the tests to proceed.
Hilary Wright,
Victoria, BC, Canada

HOW heartwarming to hear the French government condemning those who set off indiscriminate explosions without warning.
C J Whitehouse,
London

Darwin caricatured

I AM GLAD Richard Dawkins has become Professor of Public Understanding of Science at Oxford (August 13). His arrogance, abrasiveness and dogmatism may cause the public to develop a healthy scepticism about that pretension to absolute knowledge that continues to make far too much science philosophically mediocre.

Dawkins is articulate, sophisticated, yet oddly devoid of intellectual insight beyond the crude reductionism exemplified in The Selfish Gene. He presents a designer version of the dreary mechano-morphic platitudes that dogged 19th century science, and allows his thinking to be conditioned by this intellectual inheritance. Indeed, he is so rigorous in his Darwinism that he creates a caricature of Darwin's thought. Darwin had an open mind. That of Dawkins seems to be confidently closed.

I am happy to read that he has some deep questions about the origins of consciousness. One can only hope that his answers to these will not be as one-dimensional — shall we say as silly — as his selfish gene.

Perhaps it is too obvious to say that his faith in a certain kind of science has about it the same quality as that displayed by the more rigid theologians and theocrats in regards to their religious beliefs, but the similarity of mind-set is too visible to escape comment. He is in fact an evangelist — for his view of science. Given the developments in the philosophy of science, and in physics since relativity, his mechanism seems reactionary; as out of place in the development of an intelligent science at the end of this century as the Ptolemaic universe was after the speculations of Galileo.
Denys Trussell,
Auckland, New Zealand

Deflated experience

YOU EXPRESS concern that a difference of opinion between the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Governor of the Bank of England over what is an acceptable level of inflation may undermine the credibility of British monetary policy (Chancellor haunted by plea for "feel-good factor", August 13). Such a disagreement should be seen as healthy since it keeps alive the debate on the question: "Can no inflation be too much of a good thing?"

We in Canada had as head of our central bank a governor, John Crow, who can only be described as being obsessed with inflation. His view was that inflation should not just be managed but be eliminated. He succeeded, but did so by destroying much of the Canadian economy.

The benefits of this policy have never been established, even on a theoretical basis. The costs, however, have been palpable — record business failures and unemployment rates in excess of 10 per cent for several years running.

Canadian journalist Linda McQuaig, in her book (Shooting The Hippo — Death By Deficit And Other Canadian Myths), makes a compelling argument that the large Canadian debt and deficit are largely attributable to this policy. The current rationale is that high interest rates are needed to attract (largely foreign) investors into the Canadian bond market. The irony is that the debt which arguably now makes high rates necessary was created by those same high interest rates.

Not only did the Crow policies maim the Canadian economy, they also provide an excuse to those who wish to attack social spending in the name of deficit and debt reduction. There is little evidence to justify the attack. A classic case of blaming the victim.

The Canadian experience should be an example of how there is no virtue in speaking with one voice if the message is wrong.
Michael Kainer,
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

Bankrupt Kashmiri ploy

AZMAT KHAN is mistaken (August 13) in referring to the recent kidnapping of western hostages in India as a ploy to discredit the Kashmiri cause. In fact, it is not the Indian government but the Kashmiri militants themselves who have largely contributed to the failure of their movement.

The militants started their campaign, not through democratic means, but by kidnapping the daughter of India's then home minister. Since then, they have carried out innumerable acts of kidnapping and assassinations. Even the president of the Jammu and Kashmiri Liberation Front, Yasin Malik, who was released from prison on health grounds, has confessed to taking part.

But, worst of all, it was their strategy to target non-Muslims in the Valley which has virtually de-legitimised their cause. The kidnapping of western hostages is, therefore, not a ploy by the Indian government, but a reflection of a movement which lacked moral sanctity in the first place.
O P Shabi,
London

Forgotten genocide

HENRI TINCQ (A return to the dark ages, Le Monde, August 13) dutifully observed the media taboo of the New World Order by referring to only two genocidal experiences of the Eastern Christians: "The Armenian genocidal experiences of 1915 and the Greek-Turkish war of 1922". The 1941-45 Ustasha genocide, perpetrated in the Independent State of Croatia, was relegated to an Orwellian memory hole.

Then Greater Croatia included, by the will of Hitler, all Bosnia-Herzegovina where the Orthodox Serbs were victimised by the Roman Catholic and Muslim Croats. The joint Ustasha genocide was to Serbs what the Holocaust was to Jews. Memories of that reign of terror are the primary reason for the Serbs' refusal to remain in secessionist Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.
Sava Bosnitch,
Fredericton, NB, Canada

Briefly

JONATHAN FREEDLAND (August 20) should be disabused [illegible] two misconceptions about the [illegible] Perot conference in Dallas. F[illegible] Perot did not cost George Bush t[illegible] 1992 election. When Perot [illegible] leaving the polls were asked [illegible] whom they would have voted [illegible] Perot not been on the ballot, vir[illegible] ally equal numbers said Bill Cli[illegible] as cited Bush.

Second, anyone who states t[illegible] until Perot, "no one had ever be[illegible] or articulated" hostility to the f[illegible] eral government has apparen[illegible] never heard of the anti-Federal[illegible] of 1787, the Virginia and Kentuc[illegible] Resolutions of the 1790s, John C[illegible] houn, the secessionists of 1860[illegible] Republican opposition to the N[illegible] Deal, Barry Goldwater, Geo[illegible] Wallace, or Ronald Reagan.
Howard L Reiter,
Coventry, Connecticut, USA

YOUR August 20 cover p[illegible] graph (two Serb ref[illegible] women) left me weak at the kn[illegible] and stunned. For the titillation [illegible] professional ego or two, you h[illegible] turned the utter despair of a disp[illegible] sessed, modest grandmother int[illegible] peep show. To my sensibilities, it [illegible] greater violation than all the "tits [illegible] asses" in all the world's tabloids a[illegible] automobile ads.

I can only hope that the woman whose vulnerability [illegible] have exploited will never suffer t[illegible] indignity of seeing herself so [illegible] posed. If she were your aunt, y[illegible] mother, or your sister, would [illegible] have posted such a picture in the [illegible] permarket where she shops? Y[illegible] decision to print it is disgraceful.
Jean Christie,
Cooee Bay, Queensland, Australia

IF Norman Cantor, in his [illegible] history of the Jews, says that [illegible] Jews are a superior people intel[illegible] tually" he must be the excep[illegible] that proves, or disproves, the r[illegible] As Natasha Walter so well poi[illegible] out (Are Jews losing their sens[illegible] identity?, August 27), there [illegible] nasty dangers to this kind [illegible] stereotyping.

One answer to her dilemma [illegible] that it is possible to be a Semite [illegible] to identify with the victims of [illegible] kinds of anti-Semitism, with[illegible] being a Jew, just as it is possible [illegible] be a Celt or an Aryan without be[illegible] of any particular religion. After [illegible] most Semites are probably Muslim[illegible]
Nicholas Jacobs,
London

IF Nicholas Lezard thinks "[illegible] should be ashamed of themselves for peddling" Astrology For Beg[illegible] ners (August 20), the Guard[illegible] Weekly should perhaps be ashame[illegible] for allowing Ralph Whitlock [illegible] peddle feline ghosts.
Petr Rada,
Fuerth, Germany

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On the alert . . . Chinese troops in Huairou await the 40,000 delegates to the NGO Forum on Women, running in tandem with the UN women's conference. *Unequal struggle, page 23* PHOTO: WILL BURGESS

Rwanda sacks its Hutu prime minister

Chris McGreal in Bujumbura, Burundi

RWANDAN president Pasteur Bizimungu's dismissal of the prime minister on Monday exposed widening divisions between the Hutu members of the coalition government and the Tutsi-dominated Rwandan Patriotic Front.

The prime minister, Faustin Twagiramungu, a Hutu and the highest official in the administration who is not a member of the RPF, was increasingly critical of its domination of the government. He was said to be concerned that the army, which effectively remains a wing of the RPF, is unaccountable and is increasingly usurping civilian powers.

The president's office said Mr Twagiramungu was dismissed because "he has not lived up to expectations and responsibilities". President Bizimungu submitted a motion to the Tutsi-majority parliament for the prime minister's dismissal as one of a number of cabinet changes. It was overwhelmingly supported by the hand-picked MPs, although no new appointments were announced. But other politicians in Kigali said Mr Twagiramungu had been dismissed to pre-empt his resignation.

Either way, his departure will be a blow to the RPF's efforts to portray the coalition government as broad-based. After the RPF won last year's war, it appointed a Hutu from within its own ranks as president and made Mr Twagiramungu, one of the few experienced politicians in the new cabinet, prime minister in an effort to to show that the government was neither Tutsi nor RPF-dominated.

There was friction from the start. The real power lay with the vice-president, Paul Kagame, the RPF's military leader, who also became defence minister. Mr Twagiramungu was known to be particularly concerned that the army, drawn mostly from the RPF, feels itself accountable to General Kagame and not the broader cabinet.

The prime minister has also voiced criticism of arbitrary arrests and revenge killings by those who survived the genocide, some of which the military has either participated in or failed to prevent.

Evidence of the army's disdain for control came in April with the massacre of several thousand Hutu refugees at the Kibeho camp in south-west Rwanda. Not only did the army feel free to kill at random, but soldiers also were permitted to dispose of thousands of bodies and destroy other evidence. Even after an inquiry, there has been little accountability for the killings.

The massacre was a reflection of the growing remilitarisation because of the continuing threat of attacks from refugee camps in Zaire, where tens of thousands of soldiers of the defeated Hutu army remain. But the prime minister and other members of the government increasingly suspected that the RPF was using the threat of renewed conflict to impose a form of martial law. In many parts of Rwanda, what the army says goes, and it is rarely held accountable.

The government has also failed to win credibility with the large numbers of Hutus within Rwanda or with refugees still in Zaire and Tanzania. The choice of Mr Twagiramungu's replacement and other cabinet appointments will indicate whether the RPF intends to tighten further its grip on government.

Zaire is threatening to resume the expulsion of Hutu refugees to Rwanda and Burundi after the United Nations failed to deliver on promises of a mass voluntary repatriation. The UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) admitted that "no significant numbers" had volunteered to return home, despite preparations to remove several thousand a day from camps in eastern Zaire.

Only a few hundred of the more than 1 million refugees had returned of their own accord since last week, when Zaire halted the expulsions that had forced 15,000 people across the border in four days. Most Burundian refugees have fled their camps.

Ni[illegible] peac[illegible]

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Cindy Shiner in Monrovia

FOR NEARLY six years Liberians have been waiting for their warlords to make peace, but they were looking for the wrong handshake. It finally came from Nigeria.

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The Abuja accord was brokered by Nigeria and the Economic Community of West African States under

of the dangers," Desrey Fox, the vice-president of the National Amerindian Council, said.

It emerged last week that there have been at least four minor spills from the Omai goldmine in recent years and that despite warnings from environmentalists the com- [illegible] refused to conduct environ- [illegible] or engineering audits.

The Amerindian community has [illegible] also played [illegible] complaining of an in- long harboured residence of malaria, the former Nigerian [illegible] the effects of Ibrahim Babangida, accusing [illegible] rivers on arming Liberia's former dictator [illegible] Samuel Doe, in the 1980s. Mr Babangida stepped down in 1993 and General Sani Abacha took over. Mr Taylor, failing to make any military gains after his thwarted push on Monrovia in 1992, approached him.

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Marcos millions freed

SWITZERLAND has approved the transfer to the Philippines of nearly half a billion dollars from Swiss bank accounts held by the former Philippine dictator, Ferdinand Marcos, who died in exile in 1989.

The decision, subject to legal appeals in the next 20 days by the Marcos family, would put the money in a neutral escrow account in the Philippines, pending a final judgment in the Philippine courts on who is entitled to the money.

The move, by a Zurich district attorney, Peter Cosandey, follows a 10-year battle for control of the money between the Marcos family and the Philippine government, which asserts it was part of the ill-gotten gains amassed during years of dictatorship.

"It is a breakthrough," said Magtanggol Guningundo, chairman of the Philippine presidential commission on good government, which is pursuing the claim.

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"The appeal should ensure that before any money is handed out, the rights of the claimants are clarified," he said. "Otherwise, we risk having to make a double payment."

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Israel 'foils Hamas plots' with arrests

David Hudson in Jericho

ISRAEL police said on Monday they had arrested dozens of activists of the militant Islamic movement Hamas, and foiled plans to carry out more suicide attacks in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv.

Security forces had uncovered "a large Hamas organisation" in the occupied West Bank and East Jerusalem, a police communiqué said. "Dozens of activists have been arrested so far. The arrests foiled plans to carry out a series of murderous attacks."

Police said Hamas guerrillas were planning suicide attacks in Jerusalem's central bus station and on a bus in Tel Aviv, as well as the kidnapping of two Israeli soldiers. One of the detainees had helped to plan an attack in December in which a suicide bomber from the Gaza Strip wounded 13 people at a Jerusalem bus stop, police alleged.

The news came as Israeli soldiers brusquely questioned motorists and turned back almost all vehicles that tried to enter Jericho, the first Palestinian town on the West Bank to gain self-rule. No cars were allowed out. Only travellers to Jordan were permitted through.

The cordon is into its fifth day. Israel's declared purpose in sealing off Jericho is to pressurise the Palestine Liberation Organisation over two Hamas militants suspected of involvement in last week's bus bombing in Jerusalem.

Palestinian officials say the two have already been tried — before a military tribunal where they received 10- and seven-year prison sentences — and will not be surrendered. "Sealing us off like this is unwarranted collective punishment," said Colonel Jubril Rajoub.

Uri Savir, Israel's chief peace negotiator, said: "We're giving the Palestinians a message. Jericho cannot under any circumstances be allowed to turn into a shelter city for terrorists. It could be a very dangerous precedent."

Mr Savir and his Palestinian counterpart, Ahmed Qorei, confirmed at the weekend that they expected the full self-rule document to be signed in Washington on September 14.

But 73 per cent of Israelis, according to a weekend opinion poll, do not believe the PLO chairman, Yasser Arafat, is doing enough to ward off the extremist challenge. And each attack sharpens doubts about the wisdom of making what many Israelis regard as the concessions that will bring his forces to the West Bank.

Indigenous people made to suffer for sake of tests

ONE difference between the French nuclear tests and the Chinese tests is that China is testing on its own territory. Apart from the fact that the French government considers Moruroa (which is the correct way to spell the name of the atoll) to be French territory — even if no one else does — it should be noted that the Lop Nor test site lies in a part of China where the people are not ethnically Han Chinese and which historically forms part of East Turkestan. The Chinese refer to the province as Xinjang, which means "new colony."

The indigenous people of the region claim that since testing started in 1964, some 20,000 have died from the fallout (the first 20 devices were above ground), water has been contaminated, there is a high incidence of cancer, babies have been born with horrible deformities, life expectancy has declined to the extent that the death rate is now the highest of all the Chinese provinces, and the export of livestock, fruit and vegetables — originally to Hong Kong — has been stopped.

There are frequent demonstrations, which became violent after 1980 when soldiers shot into the crowds, and according to Amnesty International, around 10,000 people have been arrested since 1990.

It is a sad irony that nuclear testing has always been at the expense of indigenous people: the US Nevada test site lies on the land of the Western Shoshone nation; the British used to test on Aboriginal land in South Australia; Soviet nuclear fallout from Novaya Zemlya blew west on to the Lapps; the first French tests were in the Sahara desert; and the above ground tests conducted by the United States contaminated and displaced the people of the Marshall Islands between 1946 and 1958.
Peter D Jones,
Lenah Valley, Tasmania, Australia

I AGREE wholeheartedly with the sentiments expressed by Hugo Young (French fallout from staunch nuclear club, August 13), but beg to differ with him on one small, but for many New Zealanders, rather significant point of detail.

Young refers to action taken by the "socialist prime minister, David Lange". Anyone even vaguely familiar with the recent political history of New Zealand will know that the use of that particular adjective severely misrepresents the nature of the fourth Labour government led by David Lange until 1989. Lange presided over a process of constitutional and economic reform which illuminated the worst excesses of unbridled cabinet government; the tragedy of it all, for many of us, was that Labour's policies in those times owed a far greater ideological debt to Hayek and Friedman than they did to Fraser and Savage (early Labour party leaders).

Labour's legacy has been continued under the current National (Tory) administration, but the fact that it was kickstarted by a "socialist" prime minister has left many here feeling more than a little betrayed and bemused.
Richard Shaw,
Palmerston North, New Zealand

I HAVE NOT noticed any protest from the British government against France's proposed nuclear tests in the Pacific. If there has been one I do it an injustice, but it should be louder. If there has not been one, I presume the Government wants the tests to proceed.
Hilary Wright,
Victoria, BC, Canada

HOW heartwarming to hear the French government condemning those who set off indiscriminate explosions without warning.
C J Whitehouse,
London

Darwin caricatured

I AM GLAD Richard Dawkins has become Professor of Public Understanding of Science at Oxford (August 13). His arrogance, abrasiveness and dogmatism may cause the public to develop a healthy scepticism about that pretension to absolute knowledge that continues to make far too much science philosophically mediocre.

Dawkins is articulate, sophisticated, yet oddly devoid of intellectual insight beyond the crude reductionism exemplified in The Selfish Gene. He presents a designer version of the dreary mechano-morphic platitudes that dogged 19th century science, and allows his thinking to be conditioned by this intellectual inheritance. Indeed, he is so rigorous in his Darwinism that he creates a caricature of Darwin's thought. Darwin had an open mind. That of Dawkins seems to be confidently closed.

I am happy to read that he has some deep questions about the origins of consciousness. One can only hope that his answers to these will not be as one-dimensional — shall we say as silly — as his selfish gene.

Perhaps it is too obvious to say that his faith in a certain kind of science has about it the same quality as that displayed by the more rigid theologians and theocrats in regards to their religious beliefs, but the similarity of mind-set is too visible to escape comment. He is in fact an evangelist — for his view of science. Given the developments in the philosophy of science, and in physics since relativity, his mechanism seems reactionary; as out of place in the development of an intelligent science at the end of this century as the Ptolemaic universe was after the speculations of Galileo.
Denys Trussell,
Auckland, New Zealand

Deflated experience

YOU EXPRESS concern that a difference of opinion between the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Governor of the Bank of England over what is an acceptable level of inflation may undermine the credibility of British monetary policy (Chancellor haunted by plea for "feel-good factor", August 13). Such a disagreement should be seen as healthy since it keeps alive the debate on the question: "Can no inflation be too much of a good thing?"

We in Canada had as head of our central bank a governor, John Crow, who can only be described as being obsessed with inflation. His view was that inflation should not just be managed but be eliminated. He succeeded, but did so by destroying much of the Canadian economy.

The benefits of this policy have never been established, even on a theoretical basis. The costs, however, have been palpable — record business failures and unemployment rates in excess of 10 per cent for several years running.

Canadian journalist Linda McQuaig, in her book (Shooting The Hippo — Death By Deficit And Other Canadian Myths), makes a compelling argument that the large Canadian debt and deficit are largely attributable to this policy. The current rationale is that high interest rates are needed to attract (largely foreign) investors into the Canadian bond market. The irony is that the debt which arguably now makes high rates necessary was created by those same high interest rates.

Not only did the Crow policies maim the Canadian economy, they also provide an excuse to those who wish to attack social spending in the name of deficit and debt reduction. There is little evidence to justify the attack. A classic case of blaming the victim.

The Canadian experience should be an example of how there is no virtue in speaking with one voice if the message is wrong.
Michael Kainer,
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

Bankrupt Kashmiri ploy

AZMAT KHAN is mistaken (August 13) in referring to the recent kidnapping of western hostages in India as a ploy to discredit the Kashmiri cause. In fact, it is not the Indian government but the Kashmiri militants themselves who have largely contributed to the failure of their movement.

The militants started their campaign, not through democratic means, but by kidnapping the daughter of India's then home minister. Since then, they have carried out innumerable acts of kidnapping and assassinations. Even the president of the Jammu and Kashmiri Liberation Front, Yasin Malik, who was released from prison on health grounds, has confessed to taking part.

But, worst of all, it was their strategy to target non-Muslims in the Valley which has virtually de-legitimised their cause. The kidnapping of western hostages is, therefore, not a ploy by the Indian government, but a reflection of a movement which lacked moral sanctity in the first place.
O P Shabi,
London

Forgotten genocide

HENRI TINCQ (A return to the dark ages, Le Monde, August 13) dutifully observed the media taboo of the New World Order by referring to only two genocidal experiences of the Eastern Christians: "The Armenian genocidal experiences of 1915 and the Greek-Turkish war of 1922". The 1941-45 Ustasha genocide, perpetrated in the Independent State of Croatia, was relegated to an Orwellian memory hole.

Then Greater Croatia included, by the will of Hitler, all Bosnia-Herzegovina where the Orthodox Serbs were victimised by the Roman Catholic and Muslim Croats. The joint Ustasha genocide was to Serbs what the Holocaust was to Jews. Memories of that reign of terror are the primary reason for the Serbs' refusal to remain in secessionist Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.
Sava Bosnitch,
Fredericton, NB, Canada

Briefly

JONATHAN FREEDLAND (August 20) should be disabused of two misconceptions about the Perot conference in Dallas. Perot did not cost George Bush the 1992 election. When Perot ... leaving the polls were asked whom they would have voted for had Perot not been on the ballot, roughly equal numbers said Bill Clinton as cited Bush.

Second, anyone who states that until Perot, "no one had ever ... or articulated" hostility to the federal government has apparently never heard of the anti-Federalists of 1787, the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of the 1790s, John C. Calhoun, the secessionists of 1861, Republican opposition to the New Deal, Barry Goldwater, George Wallace, or Ronald Reagan.
Howard L Reiter,
Coventry, Connecticut, USA

YOUR August 20 cover photograph (two Serb ... women) left me weak at the knees and stunned. For the titillation of ... professional ego or two, you turned the utter despair of a dispossessed, modest grandmother into a peep show. To my sensibilities it is a greater violation than all the "bare asses" in all the world's tabloids and automobile ads.

I can only hope that the woman whose vulnerability you have exploited will never suffer the indignity of seeing herself so exposed. If she were your aunt, mother, or your sister, would you have posted such a picture in the supermarket where she shops? The decision to print it is disgraceful.
Jean Christie,
Cooee Bay, Queensland, Australia

IF Norman Cantor, in his history of the Jews, says that Jews are a superior people intellectually" he must be the exception that proves, or disproves, the rule. As Natasha Walter so well points out (Are Jews losing their sense of identity?, August 27), there are nasty dangers to this kind of stereotyping.

One answer to her dilemma is that it is possible to be a Semite and to identify with the victims of all kinds of anti-Semitism, without being a Jew, just as it is possible to be a Celt or an Aryan without being of any particular religion. After all, most Semites are probably Muslims.
Nicholas Jacobs,
London

IF Nicholas Lezard thinks ... should be ashamed of themselves for peddling" Astrology For Beginners (August 20), the Guardian Weekly should perhaps be ashamed for allowing Ralph Whitlock to peddle feline ghosts.
Petr Rada,
Fuerth, Germany

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On the alert . . . Chinese troops in Huairou await the 40,000 delegates to the NGO Forum on Women, running in tandem with the UN women's conference. *Unequal struggle, page 23* PHOTO: WILL BURGESS

Nigeria brokers peace in Liberia

Cindy Shiner in Monrovia

FOR NEARLY six years Liberians have been waiting for their warlords to make peace, but they were looking for the wrong handshake. It finally came from Nigeria.

The protracted bitterness between the Nigerian government and Charles Taylor, leader of Liberia's National Patriotic Front, has been one of the largest impediments to peace. The Nigerians were opposed to end the civil war by leading a regional peacekeeping force.

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The Abuja accord was brokered by Nigeria and the Economic Community of West African States under the leadership of Ghana's president, Jerry Rawlings. His tough approach was instrumental in reaching an agreement.

The change in Nigeria's leadership also played a role. Mr Taylor long harboured resentment against the former Nigerian president, Ibrahim Babangida, accusing him of arming Liberia's former dictator, Samuel Doe, in the 1980s. Mr Babangida stepped down in 1993 and General Sani Abacha took over. Mr Taylor, failing to make any military gains after his thwarted push on Monrovia in 1992, approached him.

"Gen Abacha is an astute man of patience," Ms Reffell said. "I think we should be proud of ourselves that Africans are capable of solving their problems, because without the help of the Ghanaians and the Nigerians I don't think we would have made it."

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Rwanda sacks its Hutu prime minister

Chris McGreal in Bujumbura, Burundi

RWANDAN president Pasteur Bizimungu's dismissal of the prime minister on Monday exposed widening divisions between the Hutu members of the coalition government and the Tutsi-dominated Rwandan Patriotic Front.

The prime minister, Faustin Twagiramungu, a Hutu and the highest official in the administration who is not a member of the RPF, was increasingly critical of its domination of the government. He was said to be concerned that the army, which effectively remains a wing of the RPF, is unaccountable and is increasingly usurping civilian powers.

The president's office said Mr Twagiramungu was dismissed because "he has not lived up to expectations and responsibilities". President Bizimungu submitted a motion to the Tutsi-majority parliament for the prime minister's dismissal as one of a number of cabinet changes. It was overwhelmingly supported by the hand-picked MPs, although no new appointments were announced. But other politicians in Kigali said Mr Twagiramungu had been dismissed to pre-empt his resignation.

Either way, his departure will be a blow to the RPF's efforts to portray the coalition government as broad-based. After the RPF won last year's war, it appointed a Hutu from within its own ranks as president and made Mr Twagiramungu, one of the few experienced politicians in the new cabinet, prime minister in an effort to to show that the government was neither Tutsi nor RPF-dominated.

There was friction from the start. The real power lay with the vice-president, Paul Kagame, the RPF's military leader, who also became defence minister. Mr Twagiramungu was known to be particularly concerned that the army, drawn mostly from the RPF, feels itself accountable to General Kagame and not the broader cabinet.

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The Week

CHINA expelled Harry Wu, the Chinese-American human rights activist, on the day it convicted him on charges, including espionage, and sentenced him to 15 years in prison.
Comment, page 10

THE American Donald Hutchings, one of the four western hostages held by separatist gunmen in Kashmir, held a 20-minute conversation by radio with an Indian government negotiator, the first direct contact since the kidnapping eight weeks ago.

IRAN'S biggest official corruption trial ended with a senior bank official sentenced to death and two accomplices to life imprisonment.

ARGENTINE federal judge Leonidas Mouldes ordered a former SS captain, Erich Priebke, to be rearrested just 24 hours after he was released. He could be extradited to Germany to face war crimes charges after a court rejected an Italian request for his extradition.

PRESIDENT CLINTON has warned Nigeria's military ruler, General Sani Abacha, not to execute any of the alleged coup plotters convicted in secret trials in July.

SRI LANKAN police have detained 15 policemen and soldiers for questioning over the discovery of more than 20 badly decomposing bodies of young males in lakes and waterways close to Colombo.

MORE than 1 million Mexicans responded to a call by the Zapatista rebels to ratify their principal demands and determine the form of struggle, according to early voting results.

HUMAN rights organisations have been shocked by a French government plan to deport at least 20,000 illegal immigrants a year in charter planes.
Le Monde, page 11

THE FRENCH government's economic policy has been thrown into disarray after the prime minister, Alain Juppé, sacked his finance minister, Alain Madelin.

EMMANUEL CONSTANT, once Haiti's most feared paramilitary commander, has appeared before a US immigration judge in Baltimore. Seeking a legal loophole to avoid deportation and a trial on charges of crimes against humanity, he swore he was a legitimate presidential contender in Haiti.

A BRITISH travel agent, Michael Clarke, aged 48, has denied promoting child prostitution in the Philippines at a preliminary court hearing in Olongapo, north of Manila.

Saddam loses his royal ally

Ian Black

HOPES for greater international pressure to hasten the downfall of Saddam Hussein have been boosted by powerful and unprecedented criticism by King Hussein of Jordan, once a key ally of the Iraqi president.

In a live speech on Jordanian television last week, the king accused him of plotting a new and "catastrophic" invasion of Kuwait and warned that he had to make big changes before crippling United Nations economic sanctions could end.

He stopped short of cutting trade ties or closing the border, but western sources said the king intended to halt oil purchases from Iraq — a potentially deadly blow to the country's devastated economy.

Britain and the United States, the leading hawks on sanctions, welcomed the address, which marked the king's transformation from disapproving though neutral fence-sitter to outright if still cautious opponent.

"This was a courageous and significant speech, marking an important development in Jordanian policy," a Foreign Office statement said, reiterating Britain's "firm support" for Jordan in the event of any threat.

A US official said: "This is a dramatic shift in policy. It's a clear and public signal that the king has indeed made a strategic shift in his alliances. His speech is as close as you can get to an apology to Kuwait and Saudi Arabia for his position during the Gulf war."

On the key question of oil bought from Iraq, King Hussein said he was taking "precautionary" steps to search for alternative supplies in the event of any disruption. Diplomats said this represented a real signal of intent.

Iraq sells about 75,000 barrels of oil a day to Jordan at much reduced prices in repayment for debts, in an arrangement authorised by the United Nations.

Kuwait has said it would be willing to discuss replacing Iraq as oil supplier to Jordan, in support of fresh US efforts to raise pressure on the Iraqi government. A Kuwaiti official said last week: "Jordan is the lung of the Iraqi regime. The goal is to stop this regime breathing."

But other Gulf diplomats, still angry over Jordan's support for Iraq during the invasion of Kuwait, were sceptical.

Arab sources were dismayed by King Hussein's extravagant praise for Lieutenant-General Hussein Kamel al-Majid, the brains behind Iraq's secret military programmes, who shook Baghdad by defecting to Jordan last month. Gen al-Majid, with as brutal a record as most in the Ba'athist hierarchy, was accompanied by his brother, the former head of President Saddam's bodyguards, and their wives — the president's daughters.

Iraq, in its first reaction to the speech, said Gen al-Majid had been alone in calling for an invasion of Kuwait and eastern Saudi Arabia.

State television broadcast a tape of a voice, which the announcer said was that of Gen al-Majid, urging a cabinet meeting to move quickly and invade Kuwait and the eastern region of Saudi Arabia. The announcer said Gen al-Majid was the only one in a cabinet meeting held during the crisis of October 1994 sparked by Iraq's massing of troops near Kuwait's border — to call for halting of cooperation with the UN disarmament official, Rolf Ekeus.

There was no criticism of either Jordan or the king in the Iraqi television report.

● In another sign that President Saddam's days may be numbered, President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt has said he would grant political asylum to the Iraqi leader if it would spare bloodshed and suffering. He also said that any decision to overthrow President Saddam was an internal affair that should be left to the Iraqi people.

Protests grow in Polynesia

Paul Brown in Papeete, Tahiti

THOUSANDS of protesters marched on Sunday through Papeete, capital of French Polynesia, and an armada of peace boats gathered as this month's French nuclear tests in Mururoa approached.

Two French warships circled the vanguard of the protest flotilla gathering off France's main South Pacific nuclear test site at the weekend, and environmentalists said they thought a French submarine might also be in the area.

A French frigate and patrol boat watched closely as the Greenpeace flagship Rainbow Warrior II made contact with boats in the area, including New Zealand's official protest ship, the Tui.

In Papeete, as conch shells trumpeted to the slow beat of drums, the Evangelical Church of French Polynesia rallied its parishioners to appeal to President Jacques Chirac to call off the tests.

Marchers carried banners and hoisted flags emblazoned with a dove bearing an olive branch. Many wore stickers displaying the results of the latest opinion polls in France, which showed that 60 per cent of voters oppose renewed testing by their country.

France's minister for overseas territories, Jean-Jacques de Peretti, arrived in Tahiti at the weekend. Although here to officiate at the close of the 10th South Pacific Games, Mr de Peretti said he would meet local leaders. He said French Polynesia must prepare for life after nuclear testing, and Paris was moving towards that future.

On Sunday boats were still leaving Papeete for the 640-mile voyage to the test site. A government protest boat from the Cook Islands, a 72ft catamaran, left with a crew of 19. Peia Patai, navigator of the Te au Otonga (Peace of the South) said they were "disappointed that Great Britain, the mother of the Commonwealth, had not seen it as her duty to protest about renewed testing".

First of the 15 New Zealand peace boats to arrive in Tahiti was the Aquila D'Oro, a million-dollar boat owned by a New Zealand QC, Peter Williams, who had sailed it 3,000 miles to join the protest.

A group of 70 MPs from Europe, Japan, New Zealand and Australia is due in Tahiti to join another demonstration this week. A number of the MPs are likely to join the flotilla.

A woman passes a monument in Papeete set up by protesters against France's nuclear tests in the South Pacific PHOTO: MARCEL MOCHET

Turkish Kurds attack rivals

David Hirst in Irbil, northern Iraq

GUERRILLAS of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), the Turkish Kurdish separatist movement, have begun what appears to be a violent campaign to enlarge their growing presence in the western-protected enclave of northern Iraq.

They launched simultaneous multi-pronged attacks on Friday last week on positions of Massoud Barzani's Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP). The KDP controls the part of Iraqi Kurdistan adjacent to the Turkish border and, unlike its rival, Jalal Talabani's Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), has tried, with Turkish appproval, to contain the PKK.

According to the KDP, PKK guerrillas attacked in 20 places, from the Zakho region in the west to the Barzan region in the east. At least six civilians were killed. The KDP, which says it drove back the assailants, accused the PKK of trying to start a new war in the area.

The PKK, whose presence a United Nations official described as "above ground and visible" as never before, has stressed that northern Iraq is a vital platform for its grand strategy, which aims to create a pan-Kurdish state embracing Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria.

Sympathetic newspapers are openly published in Irbil, "capital" of Iraqi Kurdistan, by Iraqi-Kurdish protege organisations. The PKK leader, Abdullah Ocalan, said last month: "This is the year of northern Iraq." KDP officials say this could herald a drive to seize control of wide tracts of it.

Turkey's large-scale offensive into northern Iraq early this year may have disrupted PKK operations. But many guerrillas simply took refuge deeper in the Iraqi interior. There they contrast their own party with the local Iraqi parties, which they say seek only paltry forms of Kurdish self-determination.

The PKK has profited from the inter-Kurdish war, because it has diverted KDP manpower, and the PUK adversary has for years surreptitiously collaborated with it.

Jaws drop as Big Apple gets safer

Ian Katz in New York

UNTIL now, it was one of those facts taken as read: Venice was wet, Tokyo was expensive and New York was dangerous. Not just dangerous, but getting more dangerous by the year. Even the tourist industry gave up trying to dispel the city's lawless image.

But recently something very odd has been happening — New York has been getting safer. During the first six months of this year, the murder rate fell by an astonishing 31 per cent. The number of robberies dropped by almost 22 per cent. Crime, in fact, is at its lowest level in 25 years.

The city's Mysteriously Falling Crime Rate has sent criminologists around the world scurrying in search of lessons to be drawn. The US attorney general, Janet Reno, has ordered a study of the city's experience in the hope that its success may be replicated across the country. British MPs have travelled to the Big Apple in search of the same magic formula. The city's high-profile "supercop", Commissioner William Bratton, and his political master, Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, have not been shy about divulging it. Barely able to believe their good fortune, the duo have been quick to attribute the retaking of New York's streets to radical changes in the city's policing introduced when Giuliani won office last year.

Their crusade flew in the face of liberal orthodoxy on the causes of urban crime. Whereas police forces in big US cities had accepted for decades that crime rates were pretty much determined by economic conditions and other environmental factors over which they had no control, Bratton and Giuliani argued that by cracking down on minor offences, they could stop the deeper rot.

Bratton's theorists argued that such tactics sent a "zero tolerance" message to criminals contemplating more serious offences. His 30,000 officers found the new strategy had more immediate and measurable crime-busting effects: simply stopping and searching more people led to more drugs and weapons finds. Arrests shot up by 25 per cent.

But criminologists have been loath to accept New York's no-nonsense model. Several point to crime rates falling broadly across American cities, suggesting New York is less a striking exception than a disproportionate beneficiary of a national trend.

African radio soap takes aim at tribal folk

An Archers-style story is airing the grievances of Kenyan women, writes Charlotte Eagar

IT'S AN everyday story of country folk, but not as Dan Archer would know it. Makena is plucking up courage to take an Aids test after her useless drunk of a husband, Njuke, is found to be HIV positive. Her 16-year-old daughter, Kathomi, has run screaming into the night after fighting off her grandmother who, with a group of cronies, wants to circumcise her and turn her into a "real woman".

The rural idyll of Kamantu (population 500) is a far cry from Ambridge, but as the setting for a twice-weekly radio soap — called Ndinga Nacio (Go On Then, Tell Me) — it has gained a similar cult following in southern Kenya.

Regularly drawing more than 1 million listeners, it has been so successful that Britain's Overseas Development Administration (ODA) plans to go nationwide with a new radio soap along similar lines. For tribal reasons, a new family set in a new fictitious village must be chosen.

The educational soap opera, set in an agricultural community, follows the pattern established by The Archers, which began in 1951 as a means of informing the British about changing agricultural methods.

"This kind of thing is a tremendous vehicle for getting across information," said a spokesman for the ODA. "It's an agricultural extension programme and that is how The Archers first began."

Liz Rigby, former editor of The Archers, who has been working as an adviser on the Kenya soap, said: "Aid agencies have discovered the soap opera as an education medium. The story-lines are basically the same. They are about human relationships. It is just the context you set them against. One of my favourites, sponsored by Unicef in Afghanistan, is all about teaching children not to tread on mines."

The Kenyan soap — part of the Rural Radio Programme — is the idea of David Campbell of the Agriculture Information Centre in Nairobi. The AIC started off with a magazine programme on agriculture, but found the audience it was trying to reach was not tuning in.

"We wanted to get people involved on a continual basis," said Mr Campbell. "Way back, The Archers was 30 per cent propaganda, 15 per cent technical information, and the rest was story. Now The Archers has very little information and propaganda, but in Kenya 82 per cent of the population are on the land and farming. Most of them depend for their livelihoods on agriculture.

"We needed to try to reach the women who actually do most of the farming. They are terribly busy during the day and don't get the time to sit and listen, so we had to create a story which people would really want to make time for."

The programme generates an enormous postbag. "It is mostly the men who complain," said Rose Kinotti, one of the producers, from her Nairobi office. "They say: 'How can you mention things like this when I am sitting with my family. It is not fitting'." — *The Observer*

Spill poisons Guyana river

John Vidal

MORE than 120 miles of Guyana's Essequibo River was declared an environmental disaster area by the government last week as up to 300 million gallons of cyanide-saturated sludge flowed downstream and engineers failed to stop more seeping from a breached earth dam serving the Omai goldmine.

The World Health Organisation in Georgetown reported that the sludge had reached the main town of Bartica. They questioned the Canadian mining company's water sampling, which suggested that it was safe to drink and use the river water 45 miles downstream of the stricken mine.

"We don't know where the company has been sampling," Peter Carr of the WHO said. "Have they been sampling from the edge or the middle of the pollution? We don't know what the mix of the sludge is. We have no idea how fast the river will cleanse itself." He said Bartica was not at risk because it is at the confluence of two unaffected rivers.

Guyanese health officials, supported by Canadian government toxicologists, said they were trying to carry out their own water sampling. The ban on drinking, fishing and bathing in the river would remain.

The government said it was taking seriously unconfirmed reports that carcasses of wild pigs and dead fish had been seen floating down the river.

Meanwhile a flotilla of small boats and fire tenders has been mobilised to ferry water to communities along the river. Up to 5,000 people are believed to depend on the river, but there have been no confirmed reports of illness.

There was mounting concern, however, for the communities of Aarawak and other indigenous groups who depend on the river for their survival.

"They don't know the dangers. Telling them not to use the water is not enough. They are very ignorant of the dangers," Desrey Fox, the vice-president of the National Amerindian Council, said.

It emerged last week that there have been at least four minor spills from the Omai goldmine in recent years and that despite warnings from environmentalists the company refused to conduct environmental or engineering audits.

"The Amerindian community has been for years complaining of an increase in the incidence of malaria, stomach sickness and the effects of dredging and silting of rivers on their livelihoods," said Eric Huntley of Caribbean Environment Watch. "In the wake of a discharge . . . in March the Rainforest Consulting Association of Guyana called for the Omai mine to be closed while audits were done," he said. "We were told we were alarmist."

Helmsman on the Atlantic crossing



The US this week

Martin Walker

DURING the long flurry of dinner parties and cocktails and black-tie balls that have been given this summer to say farewell to the British ambassador, Sir Robin Renwick, one of his most fervent admirers in the Clinton administration offered this paradox: "He must be rated one of the best ambassadors ever sent here by any country. It's sad that he had to spend his time repeatedly patching up the most troubled Anglo-American relationship since Suez."

One of Renwick's colleagues — an openly envious envoy from another European country — described the British ambassador as "so accomplished an undertaker that one could almost forget that he was presiding over the funeral of the special relationship".

It has certainly been a bumpy ride since Renwick arrived in 1991, to a US still glowing from the Gulf war victory in which British and US troops had fought side by side in the old, familiar way. But that was George Bush's Washington. The Clinton administration came into office with its Young Turks of the election campaign still seething over what they saw as the open partisanship by John Major's Conservative party for George Bush.

Then came the intense and recurrent rows over what to do in Bosnia, and over President Clinton's decision to give the Sinn Fein leader, Gerry Adams, a White House welcome. These took the headlines. But there were other underlying problems that added to the strain — over the expansion of Nato, over the shape of a European defence community, over nuclear testing, and over transatlantic trade relations.

"The arguments got pretty intense at times, but you have to work through these things. And we have. On all the big international issues, on Bosnia and the Middle East and widening Nato and on Russia, there isn't really any daylight between us," Renwick says. "And on Northern Ireland, we should not be hypersensitive. A lot of the American involvement has been positive, and if the peace process works, that's fine. If it doesn't and the IRA goes back to violence, there'll be no sympathy for that in Washington".

The conventional wisdom says that ambassadors are pretty small beer in global affairs these days. When President Clinton has something important to tell the British prime minister or the German chancellor, he can simply pick up the phone. In the office of the national security adviser, Tony Lake, there is one of those complex mini-switchboards on which he just punches one button to get straight through to his counterpart in Downing Street.

"Tony Lake's phone can't handle all the traffic. There's just too much going on. Ambassadors are supposed to deal with problems, and problems are a fact of diplomatic life," Renwick says. "There never was a period of warm, fuzzy glow between London and Washington. The challenge is to overcome them and if you cannot, to contain them.

"Our job in Washington is to be part of the US decision-making process, to put the British case wherever we can, in the White House, in the Pentagon and State Department, and in Congress. And it's probably pretty clear that early on in the Clinton administration we were not as successful as we are now.

"A lot of this is just the collegiate way the American system works. In centralised places like London or Paris, there tends to be much more of a party line, an agreed policy that runs across the various bits of government and bureaucracy, and we all know what it is. In Washington, the policy-making debate is much more public. If the national security council [NSC] says one thing, you still have to check with the Pentagon or State Department, let alone Congress."

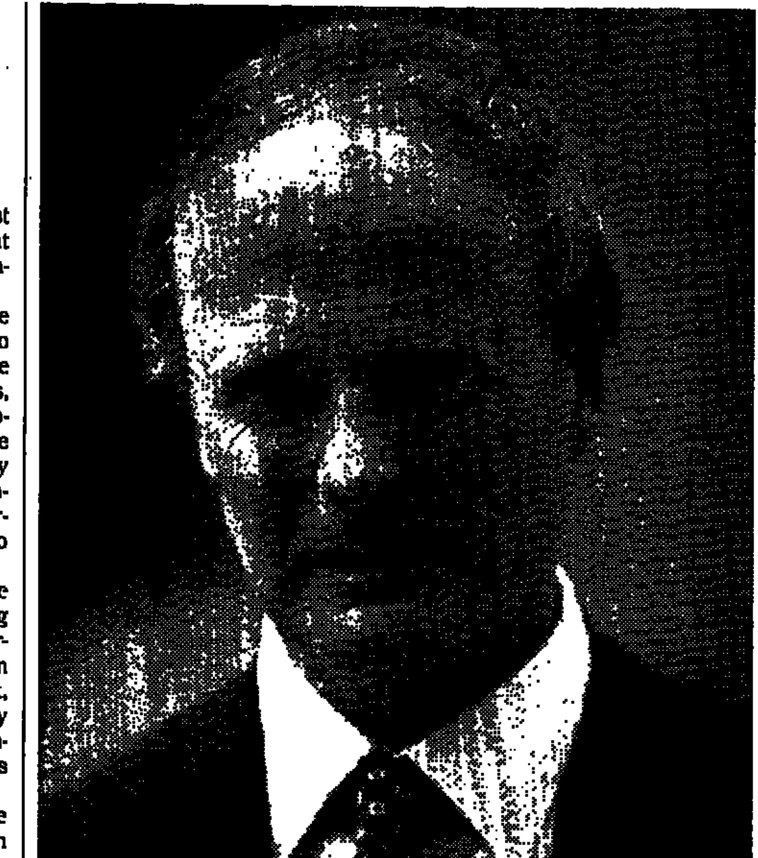
The classic example was the great Bosnia row in the spring of 1993, when the secretary of state, Warren Christopher, flew to Europe to persuade the Nato allies to back a policy of "lift and strike" — lifting the arms embargo on the Bosnians, and bombing the Serbs. Although the policy was strongly urged by the State Department and the NSC, Renwick warned London that support for it was soft. General Colin Powell at the Pentagon was dubious, and Clinton himself was nervous about the shallowness of domestic political support.

"The key to Bosnia has always been whether or not the US is willing to commit the 82nd Airborne. If they are, then a lot of things become possible that are unthinkable without US ground troops. And that first Bosnian crisis came while the Clinton administration was brand new and just settling in," Renwick recalls.

JUST BEFORE Clinton was inaugurated, Renwick went back to London to give the Foreign Office grandees a briefing on what to expect of the new administration. He began by telling them that if they were in the US State Department, they would all be out of a job by now, as the new administration brought in its own appointees. In short, Renwick warned them to expect trouble, even apart from the way the end of the cold war had sharply reduced the strategic importance of Britain to US security concerns.

One of Bush's advisers used to call it the telescope effect, with the US looking down one end to see a Lilliputian Britain, and the British looking back at them and seeing Gulliver. Washington remains, in London's eyes, the most important bi-lateral relationship. Witness the way that Renwick's replacement, Sir John Kerr, is being promoted from running the British delegation to the European Union in Brussels to the Washington embassy.

It is the curse of the "special relationship", a phrase that hangs around the neck of Anglo-American relations like an albatross. Renwick tried to ban it from his embassy for the past four years, and although he knows the cause to be hopeless, is hoping finally to bury the cliché with what he calls "a turgid book" on the real history of it all next year. His point is that rows and arguments have been the real history of the dealings between London and Washington throughout the post-war era.



Renwick: 'Rated one of the best ambassadors ever sent to the US'

"There never has been a period of calm accord and agreement. Never," he told me on his final day in the embassy last week, just before he caught the flight home. "People look back at the 1940s when Clement Attlee was prime minister and Harry Truman was president and Ernie Bevin was foreign secretary, and bathe it in a rosy glow of Marshall Plan and Nato.

"The reality was that Truman cut off Lend-Lease like a guillotine, careless of the economic disaster this implied for Britain. Truman accepted the McMahon Act, which legally forbade the US from sharing nuclear technology with Britain, even though we had started the research which produced the atom bomb. And then Truman wrecked Bevin's Middle East diplomacy by insisting on recognising Israel. In 1948, it was so bad that my predecessor Oliver Franks was called home to be asked whatever had happened to the special relationship."

It was a question that British politicians were to ask with remarkable frequency thereafter. In January of 1952, Winston Churchill made an impassioned personal appeal to Truman for Anglo-American cooperation in the great spirit of the second world war, and Truman dismissed him with scant courtesy. "Thank you, Mr Prime Minister. We might pass that on to our advisers for further consideration." Churchill was devastated by the rebuff, recorded Evelyn Shuckburgh, private secretary to Anthony Eden at the Foreign Office.

The official legend has it that Anglo-American relations were rarely better than when Harold Macmillan patched up the rows over Suez with President Eisenhower, his old wartime comrade-in-arms, and then played the fatherly role to a grateful John Kennedy. The long-delayed release of Britain's Cabinet papers belies the claim. There were bitter disputes over American insistence on being able to fire their Polaris missiles almost as soon as they left the quayside at Holy Loch, whatever the British government might splutter about the need for London's consent. There were rows about the Middle East, about Laos, about American threats to use nuclear weapons against China.

The supposed high summer of the special relationship was so cool that on the eve of the Cuban missile crisis, Macmillan doubted whether it meant anything at all, and sent the Foreign Office a questionnaire, asking them to define what it meant. It certainly did not include, as the FO tried to suggest, an automatic consultation in the event of a crisis. There was nothing special about the way that Kennedy waited a full week after learning of the presence of Soviet missiles in Cuba, before even informing the British. By that time, American policy had been set.

The limitations of Anglo-US intimacy were embodied in Kennedy's secret deal with Nikita Khrushchev to resolve the Cuba crisis by agreeing to remove the US missile bases in Turkey later, if the Soviet missiles in Cuba were withdrawn at once. Macmillan's memoirs say he would "never have consented" to such an arrangement. The Americans never bothered to tell him. Nor did Ronald Reagan bother to tell his supposed soul-mate Margaret Thatcher about his decision to invade the island of Grenada, even though the Queen was nominally its head of state.

The real surprise is how strongly the US-British link still binds, despite all the logical reasons for its enfeeblement. The nuclear relationship persists, despite being so utterly one-sided. Britain's dependence on US technology and design, of warheads as well as submarines, is almost complete. The missiles themselves are bought direct from the US production lines. And yet, despite the oddity of a nuclear superpower voluntarily complicating its nuclear diplomacy and decision-making by such generosity to a down-at-heel old chum, it continues. Equally important is the institutional link between the US and British intelligence services, locked into the chain of global electronic eavesdropping stations.

In American eyes, the most important bi-lateral relationships are with Japan, China and Russia. Most of the US foreign policy establishment would put relations with Germany ahead of those with Britain, and are openly irritated by British foot-dragging over Europe and by British pretensions to play a greater role than its unimpressive economy would warrant.

Still, there is no other ambassador whose photo is pasted on the wall of each of the White House security posts. This dates from an embarrassing evening early in the Clinton administration, when he was hosting a galaxy of heads of state to commemorate the opening of the Holocaust museum. The new protocol staff were overwhelmed, a thunderstorm was pelting down, and pathetic knots of ambassadors and foreign ministers and other luminaries huddled outside the implacable guard posts, unable to get in.

Renwick clambered damply back into his Rolls-Royce, and called the national security adviser, Tony Lake, on the car phone to warn that an international incident was brewing. Lake came down with his umbrella, and the next day, Clinton ordered Renwick's picture distributed to the security guards as "the man who always gets in".

THE Americans also credit Renwick with fending off a tiff with Beijing. The White House protocol team were again overwhelmed by the funeral of Richard Nixon in California, and various international dignitaries were left to their own devices. Having sorted out hotels and transport and access for Sir Edward Heath, Renwick then came across another baffled and homeless figure. It was China's deputy prime minister. Renwick found room for him too.

Mrs Thatcher likes to tell the story of how she insisted on promoting Renwick despite Foreign Office objections that he was too junior. He had caught her eye in helping resolve the Rhodesian crisis, and impressed her even further in helping hammer out the cut in Britain's share of the European Community budget. (Less well known is that Renwick's wife Annie, from a Corsican family, gave French conversation lessons to Mrs Thatcher.) But his real triumph for Thatcher was as her ambassador in South Africa, where he became the discreetly honest broker who helped secure the release of Nelson Mandela.

Just before Renwick left, he had a final hour-long chat with Clinton, with whom he had become very friendly. The relationship had been sealed over an early private dinner, at a low ebb in the new president's fortunes. The atmosphere was gloomy. Then Renwick told the story of Reagan at a similar time, discovering that his secretaries of state and defence were pursuing two incompatible policies, and joking, "The trouble with this administration is that the right hand doesn't know what the extreme right is doing". Clinton laughed, and they got on well thereafter.

Renwick's last act before retiring last week was to dissuade the White House wordsmiths from using that treacherous phrase in the speech they are drafting for President Clinton's visit to Britain in November. "You can call it a 'special relationship' if you must," he told them. "But it's not *the* special relationship, and maybe it never has been."

The Week in Britain James Lewis

Irish peace talks dry up as British drought ends

THE CEASEFIRE in Northern Ireland was on a knife-edge this week as the widening gap between London and Dublin forced the postponement of a planned summit meeting between John Major and his Irish counterpart, John Bruton. They were to have met next week but, because of the lack of common ground between the two governments, are now unlikely to do so until later in the month.

The impasse results from Britain's insistence that all-party constitutional talks cannot begin until some progress has been made on the decommissioning of IRA weapons. Gerry Adams, president of IRA's political wing, Sinn Fein, accused Britain of "trying to win a victory through stalemate that they could not get through conflict", and said that the whole process was in danger of unravelling.

An informal meeting between Mr Adams and the Northern Ireland Secretary, Sir Patrick Mayhew, is expected to go ahead in an attempt to break the deadlock, but the signs are not promising. The former Dublin Premier, Albert Reynolds, who was one of the brokers of the ceasefire, warned that the price of political inactivity would be a resumption of armed conflict.

Sir Patrick's promise of legislation to increase remission for convicted terrorists, which will mean early release for more than 100 of them, was intended to underline Britain's readiness to take risks to ensure the survival of the peace process. But it infuriated Unionists, and was dismissed by Mr Adams as inadequate. He needs more "confidence-building" concessions that will help him to persuade IRA hardliners that the ceasefire is worth it.

Ceasefire one year on, page 8

RAIN and lower temperatures brought relief to some parched areas of Britain last week but did nothing to stem the tide of criticism of the privatised water companies, whose lack of investment is blamed for shortages and hosepipe bans.

How, it was asked, could a country as wet as Britain — last winter was one of the wettest this century — run out of water? Ministers blamed consumers for wasting it, but they and Opposition MPs castigated the companies for allowing up to 35 per cent of the supply (826 million gallons a day) to run to leak away in decaying pipelines.

Though the Government claimed that the companies had spent about £4 billion on improving the system, most of this has gone on trying to comply with European directives on water quality. In the meantime, the companies have been reporting record profits and reaping large dividends for shareholders and directors. The industry's watchdog, Ofwat, urged the 10 English and Welsh companies to compensate their 18 million affected consumers. So far, only one has agreed.

THE CREDIBILITY of the Church of England took another knock when a Sheffield priest and former rock band manager, the Rev Chris Brain, was suspended for sexually abusing about 20 women who attended his cultish, charismatic Nine O'Clock Service (NOS), said to have been inspired by a radical New Age church in California.

The rave "Planetary Mass" of NOS, with its worrying echoes of David Koresh, had been visited by many members of the church hierarchy, apparently untroubled by the rock music, disco lights, banks of television screens and dry ice. They saw only a man who pulled in youthful congregations of 300-plus (and donations amounting to £300,000).

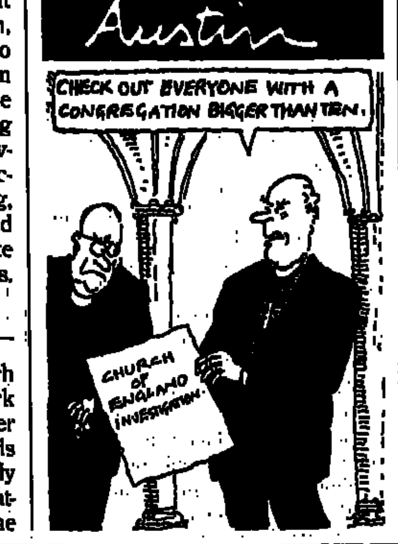
As Mr Brain was admitted to hospital for voluntary psychiatric treatment, stories emerged of mental, emotional — and sexual — manipulation; of masturbation and massage with women members; of condoms on altars, and services with sexual overtones. Sheffield diocesan authorities wriggled, claimed that NOS had not until recently been accountable to the church, and set up helplines and a secret sanctuary for counselling women followers who, it admitted, were part of "a very damaged community".

PLANS to sell the West Coast main railway line between London and Glasgow have been dropped until after the general election because the £1 billion necessary to modernise it has proved difficult to raise. In its present rundown state, it is unlikely to attract buyers.

The Government was aiming to sell more than half the rail franchises by April next year, but that target is now unattainable. This delighted Labour, which has campaigned to keep the railways in public hands. The party now hopes that an incoming Labour government could find large chunks of the network still in the public sector.

THE PRESS was warned by Lord Wakeham, chairman of the Press Complaints Commission, not to invade the privacy of Prince William when he starts school at Eton this month, and not to treat him like "a soap star or a football hero". Though destined to become king, he was a boy like any other.

Lord Wakeham denied he had acted at the behest of Buckingham Palace, and said he had heard reports that some papers were already offering pupils at Eton cash for information on the prince's activities. The journalists' trade union said the commission was acting as a public relations agency for the royal family.





A young participant performs at the carnival PHOTOGRAPH: ANDREW TESTA

Carnival hits the big 30

ERIC Aymes first visited the Notting Hill carnival shortly after arriving from Barbados in the sixties, *writes Alex Bellos.* Ten years later, he brought his daughter. On Sunday, 65-year-old Mr Aymes introduced his grandchildren to the Caribbean-style festival which turns a few square miles of west London into the northern hemisphere's largest street party

"Of course, the coloured people are now outnumbered, but I think it has kept its original spirit," he says. "Its roots were in the West Indies, but we don't confine it to that any more. I tell my grandchildren it is a European carnival."

The event, which was celebrating its 30th birthday, attracted more than a million people to see the multi-coloured processions with floats blasting out Soca (an abbreviation of soul and calypso), live bands and blaring sound systems.

Thousands of people spent months preparing elaborate costumes and intricately choreographed dances that were judged by a panel as the procession moved on to a stage built along the route.

The carefree weekend atmosphere was marred late on Monday by two shooting incidents and nine knife attacks.

Slump blamed for record divorces

Alex Bellos

MARRIAGE guidance counsellors believe the recession is partly to blame for the UK divorce rate reaching an all-time high.

New government statistics on marriage in England and Wales in 1993 continue the trend of the last decade: fewer people are marrying, those who do are older, and more are divorcing.

For the first time in 50 years the number of marriages fell below 300,000, a decrease of 4 per cent compared with 1992. The number of divorces (decrees absolute) rose 3 per cent to 160,000, the most yet. This means the divorce rate — the number of husbands and wives divorcing per 1,000 of the married population — now stands at 13.9, 14 per cent higher than a decade ago. There was one group, however, where the divorce rate was down — husbands under 30 and wives under 25.

Denise Knowles, of Relate, the counselling service, said: "The figures are not surprising, but they are concerning because they show people are still not getting it right."

She said the high level of home repossessions in 1993, a result of the recession, was a significant factor in marriage break-ups.

First-time brides and grooms are on average three years older than a decade ago: men are aged 28.2 and women 26.2. Of those born in 1961, 62 per cent of men and 74 per cent of women had married by the age of 30. Of those born in 1951 the corresponding proportions were 78 per cent and 88 per cent.

Other points from the Office of Population, Censuses and Surveys report include:

❑ Just over half of all marriages had a civil ceremony and 49 per cent a religious one.

❑ The average ages of husbands and wives who divorced in 1993 were 37 and 35 respectively, one year older than their counterparts in 1983.

❑ The average length of marriages which ended in divorce in 1993 was 9.8 years, compared with 10.1 years in 1983.

❑ In 1993 there were 95,000 divorcing couples with children under the age of 16, compared with 87,000 in 1983.

❑ Of all the divorces granted to one partner in 1993, 72 per cent were awarded to wives, a proportion unchanged for years.

❑ Fifty-four per cent of all divorces granted to wives were for husbands' unreasonable behaviour, and 23 per cent for adultery.

Comment, page 10

Births outside marriage rise

BARELY one in three pregnant women in some parts of Britain is married, according to the latest official figures which suggest that the stigma once attached to having children outside marriage has greatly diminished, *David Brindle reports.*

Statistics on conceptions in 1992 show that the proportion occurring outside marriage had reached 66.1 per cent in north Manchester, 63.3 per cent in south-east London, and 61.2 per cent in Liverpool.

Almost as few as one in 12 pregnancies outside marriage led to the traditional outcome of childbirth after a hurried wedding. Fifty-eight per cent resulted in a child being born to an unmarried mother.

There was a further fall in the rate of teenage pregnancy — down to 8.5 conceptions per 1,000 girls aged 13 to 15, compared with 9.3 in 1991 and 10.1 in 1990.

Ministers will also be relieved at a slowing of the growth in the number of pregnancies outside marriage. In 1992, 44.4 per cent of conceptions were among unmarried women, up from 43.7 per cent in 1991 but rising much less fast than the rapid increase from 30 per cent in 1982.

The figures, from the Office of Population, Censuses and Surveys show that of 828,000 conceptions in England and Wales in 1992, 19.3 per cent ended by abortion — the lowest proportion since 1987 — while 31.9 per cent led to births outside marriage.

Cartoonist Giles dies

THE cartoonist Carl Giles, whose work graced the Daily and Sunday Express for more than 50 years, has died aged 78 after several years of ill-health, ***writes Helen Nowicka.***

Giles joined the Express in 1943 and quickly proved popular with readers for his comic depictions of life in wartime Britain. He was awarded the OBE in 1959 although colleagues say he was often dissatisfied with his work.

He was most famous for creating the Giles family, ruled by its fearsome black-clad, umbrella-wielding Grandma, who was rumoured to be based on the late Lord Beaverbrook.

Ulster's peace has unsettled quality

David Sharrock on a year that changed life in Northern Ireland

IT WAS on a sultry evening in August that the sculpture of the peace dove was torn down. It had been placed on a plinth where once stood a statue of "Roaring" Hugh Hanna, a fiery 19th century Protestant preacher who specialised in inciting sectarian violence against Belfast's Catholics.

A loyalist crowd dragged the dove away and smashed it into pieces. It had survived a mere four days. Explanations for the attack included the fear that it was a new Sinn Fein symbol. The IRA blew up Roaring Hugh in 1970. Now some loyalists want to restore him to his plinth.

The destruction of an international symbol of peace in a land where flags and emblems hold such a tight grip on people's lives says much about the state of the new-found peace in Northern Ireland. This week the IRA's "complete cessation of military operations" passed its first anniversary.

The IRA has not surrendered, but it has maintained discipline to a remarkable degree. At the most pessimistic estimate, based upon an average of politically-motivated murders in recent years, nearly 100 lives have been spared.

The absence of the murder and bombing campaigns has touched the lives of everybody, transforming social life in a way that still seems quite miraculous if one pauses to recall the fear that coursed through empty streets in the days after the Shankill and Greysteel massacres nearly two years ago.

The return to normality means no more body and bag searches at shop entrances. No more looking under cars for booby traps. Peace is popular, the people love it. Even the activists recognise this.

It feels like peace, but is it real? Why does a statue of a dove inspire such violent emotion? Why has the RUC, in one summer month alone, spent £2 million on policing parades, some of which rewarded television camera crews with images of bloody confrontation? Why the surge in arson attacks on Orange halls and churches?

Part of the answer is that, as Sinn Fein's Gerry Adams has observed, peace is not simply the absence of war. The foundations of a political settlement which can secure the support of a deeply divided community must be put firmly in place.

While doubts persist that agreement is achievable, the search for it — a year after the IRA said it was halting the armed struggle "in order to enhance the democratic peace process" — has not even begun.

Six weeks after the IRA called its ceasefire the loyalist paramilitaries — a much less cohesive force — followed suit. The mystery deepened. The political objectives of the loyalist and republican paramilitaries are irreconcilable.

The tide of suspicion has ebbed and flowed from one side to the other ever since. The unionists ask why the IRA should stop if there was no deal and wonder if they could trust a government which had lied to them about its secret contacts with the IRA. Some republicans wonder if the Government has enticed the IRA on no more than a hint that the national question will be seriously addressed for the first time since partition, and on which it does not intend to deliver.

Their evidence is the British insistence that the IRA must begin the process of letting go of its weaponry. Both the Prime Minister, John Major, and the Northern Ireland Secretary, Sir Patrick Mayhew, have reiterated this precondition to full talks in the past week. Yet the army and the RUC place no importance on the issue of weapons handover. Even in the Northern Ireland Office senior officials privately believe that it is the will and intention to use the gun and the bomb which must be decommissioned rather than the weaponry itself.

For some six months the issue has thwarted progress towards Sinn Fein's goal of a place at the table when all-party talks begin.

The former Irish Prime Minister, Albert Reynolds, who is credited with turning the IRA's original plan for a three-month ceasefire into something far more meaningful, joined Sinn Fein last month in complaining that decommissioning had never been raised as an issue by the British before the Downing Street Declaration was published in December 1993.

None of this appears to have moved the Government an inch. It was only because of American pressure that Sir Patrick finally agreed to meet Mr Adams in Washington in April. President Clinton has not broken ranks with Mr Major over the need for a gesture on arms to be made by the IRA to demonstrate good faith, although Mr Clinton said that he would like to see talks taking place by the time of his visit to both parts of Ireland in November.

Close analysis of documents show that the Government's insistence on decommissioning does pre-date the Downing Street Declaration. Sinn Fein was informed of it in November 1993 in the last secret communication sent by the Government before the contact was broken off. The eight-point document describes the purpose of exploratory dialogue as being "to examine the practical consequences of the ending of violence".

A seemingly innocuous phrase to which Sinn Fein apparently paid scant attention, it did not surface again until nearly two years later — in October last year — whe[n] Major told an Institute of Di[rectors] lunch in Belfast that he wa[s] pared to make "a working as[sump]tion" that the IRA ceasefire [was] permanent and that prelim[inary] talks with Sinn Fein were to [com]mence.

This time he was prepared [to] spell out what exactly was mea[nt by] the phrase. "We shall discuss [the] practical consequences of endi[ng vi]olence — most obviously how [ille]gal weapons and explosives [are] going to be removed from [the] Northern Ireland," Mr Major s[aid]. "Peace cannot be assured fu[lly] until the paramilitaries on [both] sides hand in their weapons. Th[is is] a difficult issue but it cannot [be] ducked."

With the benefit of hindsight, secret contacts show the Gov[ern]ment's plan was tailored to enc[our]age republicans to tiptoe fur[ther] down a path which they were [con]templating: to lower their si[ghts] from "Brits Out" to an "interim" [set]tlement which might allow for e[ven]tual British disengagement [and] Irish reunification over a far lo[nger] period.

Sinn Fein's republican critics [ac]cuse them of signing up to a redef[in]ition of the partitioned six-co[unty] statelet in return for the right to [as]pire to a united Ireland. The par[ty's] new suits-and-filofaxes image [has] provided plenty of ammunition [: its] leadership has swapped the [Ar]malite for the Samsonite, the [long] war for the long lunch.

But the IRA has not gone as [far as] Mr Adams reminded the world [re]cently. Another secret docum[ent] earlier this year shed new light [on] the ceasefire. An April 1994 inter[nal] briefing paper stated that the go[al of] a united 32-county socialist rep[ublic] had not changed. But it adm[itted] that "republicans at this time an[d on] their own do not have the stre[ngth] to achieve the end goal".

It took another four month[s to] bring the ceasefire to realis[ation]. Another year later and the que[stion] of whether or not the violence [has] ended permanently remains u[nan]swered. The people of Northern [Ire]land remain torn between hope [and] suspicion.

Unionist leader resigns at 75

JAMES MOLYNEAUX, left, resigned on Monday as leader of the Ulster Unionist Party, *writes Ian Graham of PA*.

The veteran MP, 75 on Sunday, made his announcement in a low-key manner. Many close parliamentary colleagues were stunned by his decision.

However, there had been growing speculation that he would go before the end of the year after criticism in some party circles of his handling of affairs since the IRA ceasefire.

His so-called special relationship with John Major failed to stop the Downing Street Declaration and subsequent Framework Documents, drawn up by the British and Irish Governments, from being far too nationalist and anti-unionist in the eyes of many. His insistence that Northern Ireland's place within the UK was safe was repeatedly questioned as debate on the documents continued.

The statement ending his 16-year reign as party leader stated: "Yesterday, on my 75th birthday, I decided to resign the leadership of the Ulster Unionist Party to make way for a successor to prepare the party for the general election."

Maths and English exam scores dip

John Carvel

THE proportion of students gaining high GCSE grades in maths and English has dropped this year, raising questions about performance in two of the three core national curriculum subjects.

Statistics published last week by the examination boards showed that 56.9 per cent of the candidates in English gained passes at grades C or above, compared with 58.2 per cent last year.

The percentage of maths candidates gaining these grades — equivalent to the old O level — was 44.8 per cent, compared with 45.9 per cent last year.

The poorer results in subjects which ministers have identified as central to a good education took the shine off an otherwise creditable year, in which overall averages improved.

A 0.1 percentage point increase in the proportion of students gaining C grades or above across all subjects was lower than the annual average improvement of 2 per cent since GCSE was introduced seven years ago, but this may have been explained by a surge in the numbers sitting the exam.

Lord Henley, the education minister, said it was one of the best sets of results since the GCSE replaced O levels. He attributed it to "hard work and determination from students, combined with excellent preparation from dedicated and professional teachers".

The small drop in the proportion of higher grades in maths and English should be reversed after revisions to the national curriculum are implemented next year, he said.

But David Blunkett, the shadow education secretary, said the fall was the result of five years of chopping and changing by successive education secretaries.

Roy Ashley, president of the Maths Association, doubted there had been any real deterioration in performance at his subject. Last year ministers thought too many B grades had been awarded to weaker candidates sitting the less exacting of the two maths options. Political pressure had forced the boards to be stricter this time.

GCSE results came out a day after evidence showed that the proportion of 16-year-olds staying in full-time education is falling for the first time in a decade. It suggests that the Government's targets for a workforce qualified to meet the international challenges of the 21st century are in jeopardy.

The Institute of Education at London University says in research findings — yet to be published — that the percentage of 16-year-olds choosing to stay in full-time education in England dipped unexpectedly during the last academic year. After growing at an average of 4 per cent from 1987 to 1993, it fell by 1 per cent in 1994/95.

The findings raise serious doubts about national education targets announced earlier this year by Michael Heseltine, the deputy prime minister — including a goal of 60 per cent getting two A levels or the equivalent by the age of 21 in 2000.

According to the Institute of Education research, the participation rate of 16-year-olds in full-time education peaked in 1993/94 at just over 72 per cent. This amounted to a big improvement on the 1986/87 rate of under 47 per cent, but left England lagging far behind Germany, France, Denmark and the US, where rates of more than 90 per cent are achieved.

The report noted big regional variations. Youngsters in the south of England were 16-20 per cent more likely than their counterparts in the north to stay in education.

Meanwhile the row over grant-maintained schools returned to the centre of the political battleground after John Major said he wanted all publicly-funded schools to opt out of local authority control and become self-governing.

Leaders of the grant-maintained school movement said his proposal could never work without legislation to make opting out compulsory or to remove the obligation on governors to ballot parents. They said they were confident this would form part of the Conservatives' next election manifesto.

But Mr Blunkett moved quickly to discourage any more schools from opting out before the election by firming up Labour's commitment to take away any extra funding. "There will be no continuation of additional capital or double counting of revenue budgets from the day I become Education Secretary. Any school that believes it could dash for grant-maintained status and carry it through after we get in will be gravely mistaken."

● The Government last week announced a review to establish why opting-out has failed in Scottish schools. Since 1989 only one school — Dornoch Academy in northern Scotland — has opted out.

Winchester tops table

HIGHLY selective single s[ex] schools, headed by Winchester College, topped this year's indepe[n]dent schools A level league tabl[e], *writes Donald MacLeod*.

Only two of the top 20 are co-edu[cational], an embarrassment to the group of leading mixed indepe[n]dents which last week launched [a] report aimed at reassuring parents in the fiercely competitive mark[et] about their academic standing.

The six top ranked independe[nts] are boys' schools, though gi[rls'] schools improved their ranking[s]. Westminster, in third place, [has] girls in the sixth form.

Four schools — Winchester, S[t] Paul's, Westminster and Eton — have led the listing of 500 indepe[n]dent schools, ordered by average [A] level score per pupil, since it was in[]troduced four years ago. Last year Westminster topped the table; th[is] year it came third, just behind S[t] Paul's and just ahead of Eton.

Winchester tops this year's list [by a] whisker ahead of St Paul's, with [an] average score of 31.9 points pe[r] pupils, equivalent to more tha[n] three A grades.

In Brief

SCOTLAND YARD detectives are seeking a second interview with a 31-year-old former barman in Hastings, New Zealand about the death of Rachel Nickell on Wimbledon Common three years ago. The man's alibi is being verified by officers in London.

THE animal rights protester Jill Phipps, who died under the wheels of a lorry during a rally against live exports of veal calves, was accidentally killed, an inquest jury decided.

BRITAIN'S most ambitious wave power project, Osprey One, launched at Dounreay a month ago, is to be aborted because of sea damage. The generator was hit by exceptionally powerful seas while it was being prepared to produce electricity for the national grid.

THE National Lottery could be making the poor poorer, according to public health experts. Researchers at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine said the lottery widened inequalities of income because the poor spent a much higher proportion of their incomes on the lottery than other social groups.

THE television entertainer Michael Barrymore announced that he was gay. Mr Barrymore, who had been the target of repeated innuendos in the national press, revealed his true sexuality in a late-night radio interview.

A POLICE sniffer dog has killed one of the mythical protectors of the monarchy — a raven at the Tower of London. According to legend, the monarchy will fall unless a full complement of six ravens is on guard at the palace. The dog killed the bird during a security check.

SCIENTISTS have moved a step nearer to using animal organs for transplant into humans after doctors at Papworth Hospital in Cambridge transplanted genetically modified pigs' hearts and kidneys into monkeys.

DICK BENTLEY, Melbourne-born master of comic styles varying from the quick-witted to the monumentally vacuous — such as Ron Glum in BBC radio's fifties classic Take It From Here — has died aged 88.

CANADIAN fisheries minister Brian Tobin received an effusive welcome in Newlyn, Cornwall, when he thanked villagers for backing his country in its fishing dispute with Spain.

BALD men really do suffer loss of self-esteem, depression, introversion and neuroticism, according to a report by the department of psychology at Goldsmiths' College, London.



It was, said Jenny Eclair, 'a blow for womanhood, for cellulite, for bodies that are falling apart, everywhere'. Eclair, a 35-year-old Lancastrian, on Sunday became the first woman to win the annual Perrier Award, the Oscar of the comedy world, at the Edinburgh Festival. Eclair's show, Prozac And Tantrums, is a non-stop blast of super-bitchery, in which she is 'as dirty and as rude as possible'

Army jail for young offenders

Duncan Campbell

THOUGH military discipline for young offenders is being considered by the Government under a scheme which would see civilians sent to an army "glasshouse", according to private correspondence between the Defence Secretary and the Home Secretary.

The move, described as "quite extraordinary" by penal experts last week, represents the latest attempt by Michael Howard to introduce a harsh punishment regime. The scheme would go beyond the Government's plans to introduce American-style "boot" camps for young offenders, the first of which is due to open next year in Cheshire.

Home Office and Defence ministers are discussing the glasshouse scheme — so called after the original military prison, which had a glass roof — but the Defence Secretary, Michael Portillo, has warned against the "military ethos" of an armed forces punishment centre being diluted by a civilian element.

Details of the Home Secretary's latest plans for young offenders have emerged in a letter sent by Mr Portillo to Mr Howard last month. The letter, seen by the Guardian, is headed "Possible placement of civilian young offenders in the military corrective training centre (MCTC)".

Home Office officials have visited the army's punishment centre in Colchester, Essex, to assess the differences between the civil and military punishment systems.

It emerged last month in a separate development that that the Government is considering privatising the MCTC. A feasibility study is under way to establish how far privatisation could go, given that the establishment operates under military law and Queen's regulations, and to see whether the Ministry of Defence budget would benefit.

MCTC Colchester, which currently has 91 inmates, is the last of the traditional army glasshouses. Although it is no longer the sadistic institution of the 1950s, it is a uniform-based regime with a heavy emphasis on discipline, cleanliness and physical exercise.

In his letter to Mr Howard, Mr Portillo says: "The proposal has much to commend it and I shall give it all possible backing."

But the next sentence could be seen as a coded snub: "You will appreciate, however, that the MCTC Colchester is founded on the application of military law and Queen's Regulations and I am not prepared to do anything which would detract from or dilute the present very high standards and military ethos which are the cornerstones of its success."

Ann Widdecombe, the Home Office minister responsible for prisons, met Nicholas Soames, the armed forces minister, on July 25 to discuss the issue, according to the letter. They are determining whether there are any legal obstacles. A report on potential problems was due on August 8.

The letter hints that the armed forces have reservations about the scheme. "Not unexpectedly there appear to be more limitations on our side than yours," writes Mr Portillo.

Defence sources indicate that there is resistance to the idea of civilian offenders arriving in a military system and the effect it could have on discipline.

The move was attacked by the National Association of Probation Officers. "Putting young convicted civilians under military rule is quite extraordinary," said Harry Fletcher, of the association. "They have been convicted by civilian courts, not by military tribunals."

Middle-aged worry about job security

Edward Pilkington

THE stereotype of Britain's post-war generation ageing gracefully into a life of leisure and luxury has failed to materialise, according to new research which suggests that people in the latter half of their careers are anxious, preoccupied about the future, and disenchanted with the world of work.

Changing employment practices and growing job insecurity have contributed to an increasing sense of unease in the 45 to 64 age group, the research suggests.

In the spring quarter of last year, redundancy rates among the over-50s rose for the first time above those for 16 to 24-year-olds.

The marketing analysts, Mintel, interviewed 1,376 adults aged 45 to 64. Of those, one in five complained that they did not have enough money, and a tenth lacked long-term financial security.

When they were asked about the future, there were further signs of unease. More than 40 per cent were worried that they would have insufficient money for a comfortable lifestyle over the next five years, while almost a third of men were afraid they might lose their jobs.

Angela Hughes, Mintel's consumer research manager, said the introduction of new technology and greater emphasis on productivity had been unsettling for people who had grown up in an era when jobs were for life. "There appears to be disenchantment with the world of work among this age group."

Last month research by Age Concern highlighted the financial privations of pensioners. The charity said that pensioners were almost £35 a week short of the income needed to maintain a reasonable lifestyle.

The Mintel research shifts the spotlight back a stage — to those who will become the next generation of pensioners.

The pattern is most clearly drawn for older women, who appear to be living frenetic lives. Many are exerting themselves so hard that they are neglecting their health. Women consistently enjoy less leisure time than men, but the differential becomes more pronounced after the age of 45. On average they had 34 hours leisure time a week, compared with 41 for men of the same age.

Part of the reason for this inequality is that as they get older women increasingly become caught in a double bind of having to perform both paid and domestic work.

Compared with their male equivalents, women in the survey took less exercise, smoked more and felt more harried. One in five aged 55 to 64 said they were often too rushed to eat a proper meal, and a similar proportion reported health problems — slightly more than the 17 per cent of men.

Greenpeace used us, TV editors say

Andrew Culf

BROADCASTERS were bounced into giving Greenpeace, the environmental pressure group, favourable coverage in its campaign to prevent the dumping of the Brent Spar oil platform, television news executives admitted at the weekend.

Greenpeace's media offensive — including the provision of film footage of its occupation of the platform — resulted in one-dimensional coverage by BBC and ITN, delegates at the Edinburgh national television festival were told.

Richard Sambrook, the editor of BBC newsgathering, said Greenpeace was the most professional pressure group — and both news organisations stressed the need for clearer rules as the Greenpeace flotilla heads towards Mururoa Atoll in the South Pacific.

Mr Sambrook said: "I think in some sense over Brent Spar we were had . . . we need to wake up."

Greenpeace, which persuaded Shell to abandon plans to dump the structure in the Atlantic, runs a 24-hour news operation equipped with its own film crews, editing suites and satellite technology.

Mr Sambrook said: "There was never enough distance between ourselves and the participants."

Greenpeace had spent £350,000 on TV equipment and feeds, far more than the BBC could have afforded. "This particular David is not armed with a slingshot so much as an AK-47," he said.

David Lloyd, Channel 4's senior commissioning editor of news and current affairs, said: "On Brent Spar we were bounced. This matters — we all took great pains to represent Shell's side of the argument. By the time the broadcasters tried to intervene on the scientific analysis, the story had long since been spun far, far into Greenpeace's direction.

"The pictures provided to us showed plucky helicopters riding into a fusillade of water cannons. Try and write analytical science into that to the advantage of the words."

Richard Titchen, director of public affairs for Greenpeace, said he would consider using a pooled cameraman selected by the broadcasters on future campaigns, but criticised news companies for not taking the initiative. "I would like them to have their own ship and crew. There were more broadcasters wanting to come to the South Pacific than we had space for."

Murder in the marketplace

EVEN before Monday's murderous shell slammed into a Sarajevo market place, it was obvious that the reconstituted United States negotiating team, resuming its shuttle diplomacy, only had a tenuous prospect of a political breakthrough towards a Balkan settlement. The deaths of at least 34 men, women and children, with many more badly wounded and maimed, can only reduce those prospects further. Of course it is tempting to argue, with Haris Siladjic the Bosnian prime minister, that the peace talks must be suspended unless and until Nato retaliates against the Serbs. But it is wrong. Far from allowing this new tragedy to halt or even delay the search for peace, the effort must be maintained and redoubled. There is no other way of ending such senseless suffering. To interrupt the peace effort would be to give in to terrorism. It has to be rejected — just as the Israeli government has refused to be intimidated by the Hamas murder campaign to halt the Middle East peace process.

Together with justified condemnation of the Sarajevo shelling, there is a case for arguing that the negotiators will only be able to exercise any authority over the warring factions if they also order air strikes against the perpetrators. Robin Cook, the UK shadow foreign secretary, is among those who have made a strong case for retaliation. Yet he was emphatic that it first had to be confirmed that the Bosnian Serbs were responsible. Even if this can be proved — it has not always been possible with previous incidents — we believe it would be wiser to hold off at least until the US negotiators have renewed contact with Serbia's President Slobodan Milosevic.

In the convoluted terms of the Balkan conflict, this latest outrage might prove just enough to persuade the Serbian leader into finally abandoning the Bosnian Serbs and into supporting the peace proposals now on offer from the Americans. It must be obvious to Belgrade that Monday's violence will only stiffen the Bosnian government's resistance to the concessions which the present US formula also demands from Sarajevo, and that peace and the end to economic sanctions will become still more elusive.

The peace on offer from the United States is a far cry from what the Bosnians had expected from their powerful ally. True, it has a face-saving device for preserving Bosnia's sovereignty, which would have to be recognised by Serbia. The goal of the Greater Serbia would have to be abandoned, at least for now. Sarajevo would not only lose control over almost half its territory, but is also being pressed to give up Gorazde as an untenable pocket within a future Bosnian Serb administered area. A weakened Bosnian government, anchored in the Bosnian-Croat federation, would have to depend on the goodwill of big brother in Zagreb — not the most trustworthy of prospects. Bosnia's military commander, General Delic, has condemned the US plan as lacking both head and tail; he insists that the only road for a worthy Bosnia is to continue the fighting. President Alija Izetbegovic must be persuaded to heed saner, less bloodthirsty voices.

Harry Wu goes back home

HARRY WU is guilty — or so he pleaded. It was a sensible move because he knew his case is part of a much larger drama. The players include Hillary Clinton and President Jiang Zemin, with discordant choruses provided by the People's Liberation Army in Beijing and Newt Gingrich plus friends in Washington. A deal which provided for his early release — thus allowing Ms Clinton to attend the Beijing women's conference — depended on not upsetting the official myth that he had stolen state secrets. Last week the strategy worked: old prison hands like Mr Wu know well enough when it is expedient to admit one's guilt to the masses.

The move slightly mends the disarray of US-China relations. Mr Clinton's China policy, never very clear in its objectives, had been thrown into worse confusion by the initiative of the New Right in forcing him to allow President Lee Teng-hui of Taiwan to pay his "private" visit to the US in June. It was no secret that the State Department had argued strongly against approval. This went down very badly in Beijing where Mr Jiang, earlier in the year, had made a moderately worded offer of negotiations with Taiwan — to which Mr Lee at the time responded positively. With Mr Jiang now vulnerable to pressure from the Chinese armed forces and Communist Party hardliners, the arrest of Harry Wu soon after the Lee visit to the US came at the worst possible time.

No doubt Mr Wu was guilty of breaking several Chinese laws although not the ones of which he was accused. Seeking to expose human rights abuses, he entered the country more than once on a tourist visa or masqueraded as a businessman. He could have been charged with violating immigration regulations or with making false entries in a hotel register. These offences might have merited a fine or even a short period in jail. Instead he has been tried — in a closed hearing with no proper report of the proceedings — on vague charges of "illegally obtaining state secrets and engaging in criminal activities" for which no evidence has ever been cited. If his revelations are "all lies" how can they be state secrets? But that is irrelevant to his verdict which had evidently been decided outside the courtroom — along with his release.

Ending this affair may mean that Mr Jiang is able to hold his own against the Party conservatives, but the history of US-China tension goes deeper and is not so easily repaired. The US no longer needs Chinese friendship in the great anti-Soviet crusade for which Richard Nixon first enlisted their support, nor does Beijing require US help in emerging from isolation and joining the world on equal terms. In the present end-of-regime mood in Beijing, past suspicions of US cold war intentions are easily revived. In Washington, there is a new vogue for the old images of China's alleged "expansionist" designs on its neighbours. Ironically there is now better reason to look warily on the growth of Chinese power than there was during the decades of western "containment". We may be paying now for the folly then of locking China out of the world system.

For whom the wedding bells toll

INEVITABLY the latest UK official statistics, which show people waiting longer before marriage, produced a splash headline in London last week: "Official: Marriage is Now on the Rocks". Well not quite. Certainly men and women are now on average three years older when they marry than a decade ago. Average ages for men and women in 1993 were 28.2 and 26.2 respectively. Certainly crude marriage rates — marriages per 1,000, unmarrieds aged 16 and over — are at their lowest level since records began in 1840. And certainly the divorce figures show a reduction in the average length of marriage before divorce (now 9.8 years) and an increase in the numbers divorcing with children under the age of 16 (95,000 couples in 1993).

Yet marriage statistics remain a two-way mirror. Moralists shrink in horror from the now-familiar statistics: the one in three births outside marriage; two out of five marriages ending in divorce; the tenfold increase in cohabitation within 25 years. Yet there is more stability than these statistics suggest: seven out of 10 families with children are headed by both natural parents; only 8 per cent live in step families; only 7 per cent with single, never-married mothers.

Marriage remains the ambition of the vast majority of people — even those cohabiting with children, as Susan McRae's 1993 research demonstrated. Indeed, some cohabitees are only delaying marriage so that they can raise sufficient funds for their wedding, the average cost of which is now £8,000.

The message for ministers remains as set out by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation in its comprehensive report in February: even greater than the damage which absent fathers and poverty create is parental conflict. This requires action on two fronts, which ministers have indicated will be forthcoming: policies to reduce conflict within families (mediation, family centres, support networks); but also conciliation services which will allow irreconcilable couples to separate with the minimum of acrimony. At the same time, as recent research has emphasised, social services need funds to help families in need — not just families in crises.

Global villagers speak with forked tongues

George Monbiot

ACCORDING to the Greek embassy, there are no minority languages in Greece, apart from Turkish. This may come as a surprise to the country's 400,000 speakers of Arvanite, Aroumanian, Slav-Macedonian and Pomak. It was certainly news — relayed via the Greek police — to a representative of the EU's European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages. While researching language distribution last month, he was arrested and held for questioning for 24 hours.

Because of the government's failure to recognise these languages, and their exclusion from schools, administration and radio and television, they are likely before long to fade away in Greece. They are not alone: of the 6,000 or so languages presumed to exist on Earth, 95 per cent seem destined to disappear within the next 100 years. As languages die, the concomitant loss of meaning compromises everyone's ability to sustain both a peaceful and purposeful life.

There are several reasons for this extraordinary rate of extinction. Governments, especially repressive ones, often equate diversity with instability. In Turkey, Kurds are imprisoned simply for speaking their language in a public place. In the Chittagong hill tracts of Bangladesh, addressing a meeting in a local language is treated as an act of insurgency. Education, publication or broadcasting in minority languages is discouraged all over the world.

The subtler causes of language loss are perhaps even more important. As indigenous peoples engage with the outside world, their language often becomes a token of inferiority. When the "master language" — English, Spanish or Mandarin, for example — is the language of business, government and media, parents will go to great lengths to ensure that their children can speak it. Young men and women pretend they cannot understand their mother tongue.

There are many people, in business and international finance in particular, who maintain that language death is not to be lamented, but celebrated. It hastens the consolidation of the global village, in which goods can be freely traded and information readily shared. People with access to both the market and the media can defend themselves more readily against destitution and repression. The better we understand each other, the more peaceful our lives will be: linguistic diversity was, after all, God's punishment for building the Tower of Babel.

But, for those who have worked with threatened minorities, it is becoming clear that the interests of many of these groups are best served by remaining outside the global village. As remote communities are pervaded by multi-national trade and communications, self-sufficiency withers. South-west India's experience is typical. There, multinational grain merchants have used their capital reserves to drive out local producers and traders with anti-competitive pricing, before attempting to commandeer the seed market. The result is dependency and destitution.

All over the world, people are losing their livelihoods to the [illegible] financed, well-connected enterprises which global integration [illegible] best, and ending up, unrepresented and underemployed, on the [illegible] slag heaps rising around all the world's big cities. Language is one of the most effective barriers to penetration. It allows people to pursue the livelihoods that serve them best.

Ethnocentrism and racism, moreover, are the hallmarks of insecurity. The incomprehension and intolerance which have made this a decade of ethnic conflict surface when one culture feels threatened by another. Without pluralism, there can be no peace. In society, as in ecosystems, diversity affords stability.

But these measurable effects are perhaps the least important. In Papua New Guinea, the most linguistically diverse region on Earth, language is not just reflective of culture; it is a major component. The Dani people, for example, can each speak seven or eight wholly different languages. Men with a vocabulary wider than Shakespeare's engage in punning stories whose play upon a single word can last for two hours. For them, language death — which the Indonesian government is doing its best to engineer — means losing their entire cultural history.

It is arguable that humankind's fastest-growing disease is anomie. All those of us who have lost our roots suffer it to some degree, and strive to reassert a cultural identity — even if it is no more consequential than a style of dress or support for a football team.

But for many of those who have lost their language, and the sense of belonging it sustained, the collapse of self-worth is complete. Alcoholism and drug abuse are inescapable features of North American reservations and Aboriginal settlements. Suicide has become an epidemic among the Guarani of western Brazil. And as languages disappear, so do the songs and stories which relate the history of the world's oppressed, until we come to see ourselves only from the perspective of the victors. The loss of a language is a loss of collective memory.

The disappearance of a language is not necessarily for ever. Many leave a written record, from which it is possible, with diligence and tremendous political will, to reconstruct a new vernacular. This is how Hebrew became the national language of Israel, as settlers at the turn of the century adapted it from the scriptures back into a conversational form. But the circumstances of the revival were exceptional, and it demanded a bitter campaign of vituperation against its competitor, Yiddish.

There's a better chance of survival if a language is caught before it falls, but only if those who speak it retain some ability to govern their own lives. Despite 40 years of repression by Franco, Catalan, aided by the economic strength of its speakers, has remained a language of prestige in Catalonia. Even immigrant Castilians are anxious to acquire it. Irish Gaelic, by contrast, though Eire's "first official language", is still declining.

Living with complexity is a difficult business, which requires constant responsiveness, creativity and goodwill. But as nations all over the world are discovering, living with simplicity is very much harder.

Le Monde

Pakistan divided by child labour row

The outcry around the world over the killing of a 12-year-old worker has sparked a bitter debate.
Frédéric Bobin reports from Lahore

CHAPA KANA MILL, a dusty grey moor covered with drying grass, is one of those slabs of parched earth that abound in the Punjab. In the distance stand the chimneys of brick workshops where families from the villages in the area send their children to work.

Little remains of the evening of the tragedy other than two white-washed blocks of stone laid on the sand like some funereal marker. This was where Iqbal Masih fell off his bicycle at 8pm on April 16, his body riddled with bullets. An ordinary village tragedy, people in the neighbouring city of Lahore thought at the time. The news was dismissed in a brief filler in the local press.

That would have been the end of the matter had not Masih's name and photograph made the front pages of newspapers around the world a few days later. Pakistan was astounded to see the western media getting worked up over the death of Masih, who was reported to have been assassinated for speaking out against child labour.

The West has now moved on to other things, but Masih's story continues to produce tremors in Lahore and Islamabad. It has taken on the dimensions of a government crisis, with economic lobbies, the secret services, and nationalist pamphleteers all joining in.

Masih was one of 8 million Pakistani children condemned to work from a very young age in carpet and brick-making factories. The victims of this social calamity are for the most part "pariah" communities, or "untouchables", converted to Christianity under the British. It is based on the system of *peshgi* — that is, a debt owed by the family to a local usurer, where the child becomes a kind of bargaining chip.

It was a debt of about $425 run up by the family for his brother's wedding that prompted Masih's parents to send him to work in the village carpet factory. The workshop is in the village's poor Hadokay neighbourhood, a network of dusty lanes bordered by open, foul-smelling drains.

Masih toiled in this place for years to pay off his mother's debt until in 1993 he suddenly decided to break free and ran away from the workshop. The man who engineered his escape was Esanullah Khan, a left-wing activist who started out as a lawyer, became a journalist and finally founded the BLLF, a child-labour liberation organisation, which rapidly won the sympathy of western donors.

So who killed Masih? "The carpet mafia" is Khan's prompt answer. Not surprisingly, that's not what the authorities believe. According to the police report on the tragic incident based on the testimony of Faryad Masih, one of the two cousins who accompanied Iqbal that day, the boy's death boiled down to a village brawl.

The report says that when the three boys were crossing the moor, they apparently spotted Mohamed Ashraf, a farm hand, having sex with a donkey. Furious at being caught out, the man is said to have grabbed a hunting rifle lying beside him and opened fire, killing Iqbal Masih on the spot.

The Pakistan Human Rights Commission came to the same conclusion about Masif's death as the police.



Iqbal Masih's sister, Sobia, (second from right) is comforted by a social worker after the death of her brother in April PHOTOGRAPH: B F. BANGASH

And that's where the trouble began. The commission — headed by Asma Jahangir, a leading figure in the struggle for human rights in Pakistan — is not a stooge for the government. It has always stood out for its independence, which has led to it being respected by foreign observers.

"We have found absolutely no proof of any carpet mafia involvement," says Mahmood Ahmed Khan, the commission's lawyer who inquired into Masih's death. "The family members' testimony corroborates the police version. They spoke quite freely."

Will the truth ever be known? The deeper one looks into this tragedy, the more one is troubled by doubts. The Human Rights Commission's conclusions would have been more convincing, for example, if the eye witnesses of the incident — the boy's cousins Faryad and Liaqat Masih — could have been heard. But barricaded at the BLLF headquarters, they couldn't be approached by the commission members.

Khan's version, incriminating a "carpet mafia", might nevertheless have gained in credibility if this colourful character working for the cause of children were less of a controversial figure. Few in Lahore, even in well-informed circles, have anything flattering to say about him. Rashed Rahman, assistant editor of The Nation, worked with Khan until 1989 but ended their association after the discovery of some surprising practices.

"Not only was his management of funds received from abroad less than crystal clear," said Rahman, "he also took commissions from the people whose causes he championed."

Khan's opponents have not been slow to exploit these alleged character defects. Since Masih's death, Khan has been accused of being a plunderer, a blackmailer, a manipulator, even the man who ordered the boy's murder. The Pakistani secret service, for its part, accuses Khan and the people close to him of being "Indian agents" who are conspiring to destroy the country's economy. With all these charges weighing against him, Khan has sought refuge abroad.

The new turn taken by the inquiry into Masih's death has not displeased the Pakistani press, whose national pride has been bruised by the international media's initial coverage of the murder. The case has acted as a catalyst, reawakening resentment in a Pakistan exasperated at being preached to by the West.

The general view here is that the Masih incident is part of a plot being orchestrated by wealthy countries to damage the economic development of the Third World, particularly that of Pakistan. In this charged atmosphere, many people are urging the government to tighten its supervision of the "suspect activities" of some non-governmental organisations operating in the country.

For years the BLLF and its supporters basked in publicity and reflected glory. Now the wheel has come full circle, and once again conservative pressure groups are making all the running.

(August 20/21)

France considers mass deportations

Philippe Bernard and Nathaniel Herzberg

JACQUES CHIRAC had sworn that France would "neither weaken nor be inhibited" in dealing with illegal immigration. The interior minister, Jean-Louis Debré, has decided to carry out the president's promise.

Three months after the extreme right's election success, the package of anti-immigration measures Debré presented to the cabinet on August 23 is targeted at several groups — a police force dispirited by the ineffectiveness of expulsions, would-be African and east European immigrants who have to be dissuaded from trying to enter France and, above all, French public opinion, which has to be shown that the government is not sitting on its hands.

The measures are aimed largely at making expulsions more effective. This, says the interior ministry, "is essential for helping integration and maintaining peaceful immigration". At present, only 12,000 of the 60,000 foreigners arrested annually for illegally entering France are returned to their countries of origin. The situation is said to be "disastrous". The government wants to expel 15,000 by the end of the year and double that next year.

To do this, Debré intends — with the cooperation of other European countries — to start expelling immigrants by the planeload on a regular basis. His ministry says this is a "much less humiliating method" than individual expulsions. It would also be less costly — between $40,000 and $100,000 per expulsion.

The minister also wants to tackle one of the main reasons why expulsion orders are not carried out — the refusal by the countries of origin to deliver passes to foreigners who have destroyed their passports. Here, the Quai d'Orsay will be expected to put pressure on the consuls of these countries to be more ready to readmit their presumed nationals. The countries most immediately concerned are the Maghreb states, Mali, Senegal, Turkey, Zaire and Sri Lanka.

Another cause of the failure of the expulsion policy so far is that poor coordination between justice and police results in foreigners held in custody for illegal entry being set free instead of being sent back to their countries of origin. Together with tighter measures, the government also announced moves to make the treatment of illegal immigrants "more humane". With this in view, the capacity of holding centres will be increased and their conditions improved. Two measures, initially included in the package, have been withdrawn. They were intended to increase the penalties against employers of illegal immigrants. The original plan was for the employer concerned to foot the bill for repatriating his employee.

One measure, which grants prefects the authority to legitimise the situation of certain youngsters who arrived in France under the family entry and settlement rule, could turn out to be explosive.

But just how effective the new measures will be is questionable. And the limits of diplomatic action are shown by the fact that Algeria, for example, refuses to readmit nationals expelled from France. Furthermore, it is hard to see immigrants agreeing to return to countries where civil wars are in progress, such as Algeria and Sri Lanka.

(August 24)

Poisoned by intolerance

EDITORIAL

LIKE the pollution that is poisoning our cities at regular intervals, an odour is wafting through France at the end of this summer season that is hard to bear. We seem to have come a long way from the days when an expression as mild as the "threshold of tolerance" used by a politician in the context of the immigration debate would spark a public uproar.

As we move from one semantic swing to another, from one National Front election score to another, we are discovering today a France that is extending its intolerance to all those who are "different", particularly immigrants, whether they are illegal or not, beggars, vagabonds and the down-and-out.

If there is indeed a social fracture — Chirac diagnosed it quite correctly when he was running for the presidency — it is combined with a mental fracture, the result of which is that the mind goes suddenly blank, causing France to forget that it earned the world's affection by declaring itself to be the home of human rights.

Here, the agenda of the first cabinet meeting of the autumn session is especially significant. Chirac had held out a promise of social measures to help the most disadvantaged. In the end, the measures decided on are basically repressive: it is the fight against illegal immigration that has won priority.

The two summer months that have gone by were primarily marked by the discordant noises coming from the government. It seemed to be hedging its bets, with two ministers making repeated statements about taking trouble-making families away from sensitive neighbourhoods and banning public begging, while two others stressed the security and social aspects of the problem.

More than ever, France needs to strengthen its social ties, even with those who are "different". Otherwise, it could well end up losing its soul.

(August 24)

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
September 3 1995

French connection to official murder

Paris is keeping quiet about its clandestine role in Spain's state terrorism. **Roland-Pierre Paringaux** and **Michel Garicoix** report from Bayonne

BEACHES, festivals and bullfights. Although another terrorist bomb has gone off in Paris, France's Basque country in August appears to be far removed from those summers when Spanish nationals settled their scores here, causing bloodshed and destruction in the region. It seems as if the days when France served as a sanctuary for the hit squads of ETA, the Basque separatist organisation, are a thing of the past.

Has the "dirty war" ceased to be relevant today? Has ETA become the "business of the Spaniards", as one Basque country official put it? Two recent developments show that the answer in both cases is no.

First, the revelations about GAL (Anti-terrorist Liberation Groups), which Spain's Socialist leaders are accused of having sponsored, raise questions about whether some French leaders may have been involved. What were they doing between 1983 and 1987 when scores of terrorist attacks and crimes were being committed on French soil?

Second, the recent foiled plot to assassinate King Juan Carlos throws some light on ETA's continuing machinations in France.

While Judge Baltasar Garzón's investigations into the responsibility of the highest political and police authorities in setting up GAL have been causing uproar in Madrid for some weeks now, France's silence on the subject is astonishing.

Yet the GAL investigations also concern France. GAL's hit squads have murdered 27 people on French soil, carried out dozens of kidnappings, tortured people, and machine-gunned and blown up cars. The terrorist groups recruited their hit men in France. And it is also on French soil that, for the first time, a case involving GAL terrorism was referred to a court.

Yet it has taken years, and the obstinacy of a pugnacious Spanish judge, for the case and its secrets to surface and provide revealing glimpses — through the confessions of Spanish police officers — of its French contacts and connections.

Spanish Socialists took office in November 1982. Soon afterwards, French Socialists, who had often shown their sympathy for the Basque separatist cause, shifted their position. After all, Francoism was dead, Spain was a democracy and the Spanish Basque provinces enjoyed a large measure of autonomy. Armed violence could no longer be justified.

Soon, the French government was castigating "criminal acts of a kind that the alleged political end could not possibly justify the unacceptable means".

In his attempts to resolve the crisis caused by the Basque separatists, the Spanish prime minister, Felipe González, pleaded with President François Mitterrand in late 1983, urging him to expel members of ETA's military wing who had taken refuge in France. The first expulsions took place early in 1984. Robert Badinter, the justice minister at the time, explained that "the right of asylum, considered as a sanctuary for anyone who has committed a political crime, is an untenable idea".

But for Madrid, this fell far short of expectations, especially as Paris was at the same time continuing its policy of granting political asylum to Spanish Basques. The Spanish police and the civil guard were exasperated by the creation of this "safe haven" on French territory, where ETA squads could prepare their attacks and retreat to without fear of being punished.

IN ORDER to put pressure on France and force it to switch to a policy of large-scale expulsions, Spain's leaders allegedly gave the go-ahead to a police plan to "terrorise the terrorists" on French soil. Spain hoped to wipe out ETA squads and create a situation in France's own Basque country that would force Paris to resort to mass expulsions in order to restore law and order.

We know what happened next. There was a reign of terror between 1983 and 1987. Shooting, blowing up cars, kidnapping and torturing, GAL killed at least 27 people — mostly Spanish Basque "refugees" but also several French nationals killed by mistake — wounded many others, and caused substantial damage to property.

In general, the dirty work appears to have been done by professional killers recruited from among French rightwing extremists, former members of the OAS (the French terrorist organisation opposed to Algerian independence) and police informers. Several middlemen and hit men were arrested. Some were released, and others condemned by French courts towards the end of the 1980s.

In spite of the information and testimony available at the time, the investigations went no further, and the people who ordered the killings remained unknown. The contacts were disbanded at the end of 1987, following the big crackdown ordered by the then interior minister, Charles Pasqua, against ETA sympathisers in the eastern Pyrénées.

What were the heads of the French police services in the region doing between 1983 and 1987? Given their number, competence and the long years they had spent cooperating with the Spanish police, it is unlikely that they knew nothing about GAL's activities in their sectors or did not know its hired French hands. Did they turn a blind eye to the crimes and those who masterminded them? Was there connivance, not to say collusion? If the answer is yes, then who gave the orders?

In the cafés of Bayonne, which have seen so many of these terrorist attacks, people say: "We've known that for a long time." They didn't wait for the Spanish police confessions to make up their own minds.

"But nobody listened to us, neither the newspapers nor the local representatives," Jakès Abbeberry, the assistant mayor of Biarritz, said bitterly. "It was obvious from the first day that the Spanish authorities were behind GAL. It was also obvious that there was some collusion on this side with the police, for the killers to be able to come over the border, kill and calmly return to Spain.

"This neighbourhood has been going through a situation that was worse than the Middle East terrorism in Paris. It was state terrorism. But the Paris authorities said nothing about it. And yet, as early as 1984 we were taking to the streets with shouts of 'González hiltzaile, Mitterrand laguntzaile' (González assassin, Mitterrand accomplice).

"Today, the Spanish police are spilling the names of French police officers who were allegedly involved in GAL's activities and who made millions. But nothing is being done here. Justice isn't moving," he added.

"Everybody — the police, politicians, judges — knew about it, but nobody wanted to have anything to do with it. Today, nobody wants to hear about it any more," said Jean-Noël Etcheverry, a young Basque activist who caught and turned over to the police one of the men involved in the Café Monbar killing in September 1985, where three people died. "Yet at the time," he said, "eye witnesses and newspapers were speaking openly about the ties with the police authorities and giving the names of the people behind the killings."

WHEN Mohamed Talbi, one of the French defendants, arrived for his trial at a Pau court in September 1987 he carried a placard proclaiming: "The Biarritz police have been aware of all the attacks planned by GAL's French and Spanish terrorist police officers since December 3, 1983."

A French police specialist familiar with the period confirmed on August 17 that "GAL was, in fact, an anti-terrorist manifestation of the state". In his view, "it was an operation similar to the kind French police officers conducted during the Algerian war and against the OAS".

He acknowledged that there was some French police complicity in GAL's operations. It was apparently based on individual initiative and dictated by the fact that "ETA was operating in conditions of impunity and had caused more than 900 deaths in Spain since 1978 . . . nothing has really changed."

The attempt to assassinate Juan Carlos has come at the right time to prove this assessment correct, and to show that ETA and the French "sanctuary" haven't gone away. The ETA's plans to assassinate the king of Spain were allegedly drawn up in France by José Rego, one of the old guard who the French police thought had settled down. Still, they kept him under observation and discovered the plot. They tipped off Madrid, and eight Spanish Basques were arrested. The next day, a terrorist squad that had probably crossed over from France blew up a civil guard barracks, injuring 40 people.

While the tougher line French police have been taking in recent years has led to a reduction in the number of ETA members operating out of France's Basque country, it nevertheless still acts as a rear base for the movement.

Arrests have never been able to decapitate the ETA leadership because its structure is collective. "Revolutionary taxes" and ransom money obtained from kidnappings ensure it is never short of funds. And Herri Batasuna, the political coalition close to ETA, regularly polls more than 10 per cent of the vote in elections, which translates into about 200,000 sympathisers, enough to keep the movement going for a long time to come.

(August 22)




Residents survey the damage caused by an ETA bomb in Arnedo, northern Spain, in August. France's role in Spain's Basque conflagration is slowly being revealed PHOTOGRAPH: ABEL ALONSO

Shocked by a spate of rapes, MPs plan to make things harder for the criminals, writes our correspondent in Rome

Italy to get tough on sex offenders

FOLLOWING a series of horrible rapes, the Italian president, Lamberto Dini, says he is going to ask parliament next month to adopt, as an urgent priority, a tougher law on sexual crimes against women and children.

Not a day goes by without several rapes being reported. And these reports have shocked public opinion.

Among them is the story of a five-year-old girl who was raped by her uncle, and the account of a father who prostituted his two handicapped pre-teen daughters to elderly men. Homosexuals have also been the victims of sexual attacks.

Several disturbing trends have been noted, such as the frequency of sex offences committed against minors by members of their own families, and gang rapes by young men as they leave discothèques. These are often the work of very young men aroused by a mixture of drugs and alcohol.

A total of 361 members of parliament have lined up behind a draft bill, which stands a good chance of being approved. In deference to feminist organisations, sexual offences will no longer be described as "offences against morality", but as "offences against the person".

Physical abuse and indecency will be bracketed together as a "sexual offence". The penalties will be stiffer (10 years' imprisonment instead of the current five).

A new crime will be introduced, that of "group sexual offences", where even those present at rapes will be liable to prosecution. Sexual abuses of minors will be severely punished, particularly where the offender is a member of the family: family members will no longer be able to use the plea of consent.

One aspect of the new bill, thought by some to be too repressive, is that in gang rape and offences against minors it will be possible to initiate legal proceedings even where no complaint has been filed. Finally, because of Aids, the guilty parties will be screened for sexually transmitted diseases.

There is a vigorous debate going on in Italy today about the reasons for the sexual violence. Franca Rame, an actress who has herself been a rape victim, accuses television — in particular the Berlusconi group's Italia Uno channel — of broadcasting films that incite sexual violence.

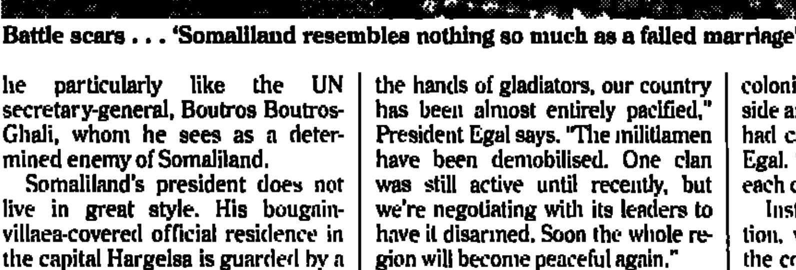
According to Pippo Baudo, a star host on a state channel, Rai 1, television news wallows "in the most sordid details".

(August 23)

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
September 3 1995

Somaliland struggles with independence

Jean-Pierre Tuquoi in Hargeisa takes the temperature in the self-proclaimed republic



Battle scars . . . 'Somaliland resembles nothing so much as a failed marriage' PHOTOGRAPH: JULIE FLINT

THE Republic of Somaliland is a virtual country, a phantom state whose borders will not be found in even the most detailed of atlases. Yet it exists. As you fly into Kalabaydh airport from Djibouti, Somaliland's national flag — a green sun against a white background — can be seen flying by the side of a makeshift airstrip. In a tent donated by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), an official conscientiously stamps the visitor's passport.

Somaliland, which is slightly larger than former Czechoslovakia and has the same population as the Republic of Ireland, declared itself independent after 10 years of clashes with the regime of Somalia's president, Siad Barre.

Three months after Barre fled from Mogadishu on May 18, 1991, the Somali National Movement (SNM) proclaimed the secession of the north of the country and the creation of Somaliland. It was an event that went almost unnoticed. So far no state in the world has recognised the independent Somaliland.

Mohammed Ibrahim Egal, its current president, and the second in its history, was chosen in May 1993 by a council of elders after five months of discussions. He was given a two-year term. He must have done fairly well as president because in May this year the elders gave him an extra term of 18 months. This time it took only three weeks to come to a decision.

President Egal is an easy-going, charming man of almost 70 — if his birth certificate is to be believed. He spent 12 of those years in Barre's prisons. He is at pains to point out that he is "not a warlord but an elected president and a born democrat".

Egal smokes American cigarettes, worships General de Gaulle and hates the British, the country's former colonial power — though he speaks English very well. Nor does he particularly like the UN secretary-general, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, whom he sees as a determined enemy of Somaliland.

Somaliland's president does not live in great style. His bougainvillaea-covered official residence in the capital Hargeisa is guarded by a solitary sentry. Egal's office has a threadbare carpet and cheap sixties furniture. Its sole luxury is a fax: there are only four such machines in the whole country.

Somaliland is a war-torn country. Hargeisa's mosques, theatre, radio building and exhibition park all lie in ruins. It takes a considerable effort of the imagination to detect the sites of former official buildings, or to believe that traffic will ever again throng its main thoroughfare, where a few domestic animals now forage peacefully.

The capital of Somaliland has nothing in common with Mogadishu. To start with, there are few uniformed personnel in its streets, and the militiamen who used to call the tune in the centre of town have vanished.

"While Somalia has been left in the hands of gladiators, our country has been almost entirely pacified," President Egal says. "The militiamen have been demobilised. One clan was still active until recently, but we're negotiating with its leaders to have it disarmed. Soon the whole region will become peaceful again."

His optimism is not shared by western diplomats, nor is it confirmed by the violent clashes that took place recently between Issa militiamen near the border with the Republic of Djibouti, which had to place its army on a state of alert on August 9.

The history of Somaliland is straightforward enough. In President Egal's view, it resembles nothing so much as a failed marriage. The colony of British Somaliland gained independence on June 26, 1960. Its first president was none other than Mohammed Egal himself, though he lasted only four days in office: the newly-fledged state decided by referendum to link its destiny immediately with the Italian trusteeship territory of Somalia.

"What we hadn't realised was that colonisation, by the British on one side and by the Italians on the other, had caused us to drift apart," says Egal. "The attitudes and cultures of each country were different."

Instead of an amicable separation, which was perfectly possible, the country was wracked by a long and disastrous civil war. Even today, part of the country is one huge minefield. Infrastructure has been destroyed and tens of thousands of people have left Somaliland.

Egal is not too sure whether to welcome or deplore their departure: "Nobody is dying of starvation here, and there are no clashes between warlords as there are in Mogadishu. That's why the international community ignores us. We've decided to return the compliment. One day it will wake up again to the fact that we exist."

As it waits for that hypothetical recognition to occur, Somaliland is doing its best to endow itself with the attributes of a modern state. It already has a flag and a currency — the shilling — whose banknotes, which look like Monopoly money, are in circulation in the Hargeisa area.

A national anthem has yet to be composed. "But there have been several proposals, and a German non-governmental organisation has offered us some musical instruments," says the former foreign minister, Ahmed Aw-Adan. Somaliland has no national radio or television. Its only newspaper is little more than a cyclostyled sheet of paper that appears at irregular intervals.

Somaliland has a government of more than 30 ministers. "We needed to take account of the nation's various sensibilities," explains Egal. "But two jurists, a Sudanese and an American, are working night and day on a draft constitution. It will provide for the creation of a two-chamber parliament, an independent judiciary and a supreme court."

The president has, on the other hand, given strict instructions to his ministers that their staff should not exceed 10 civil servants each. The only exceptions are the ministries of health, education and defence. There is a 15,000-strong army, backed up by a police force of 6,000. They all wear uniforms (some of them provided by France, which keeps a close eye on developments in Somaliland).

Most of Somaliland's income derives from taxes levied at the port of Berbera. Somaliland exports more than 2 million head of livestock a year to the Gulf states. Berbera is also used by Ethiopia, Somaliland's larger neighbour, which has no seaboard.

Somaliland's economic and financial situation can only improve, say its leaders, because it is a country with abundant natural resources: there are believed to be large deposits of rare metals and huge oil reserves just waiting to be tapped. Its offshore waters abound in fish — which at the moment are being caught by Koreans and Chinese.

But the fact remains that Somaliland is an international outcast.

The key to the problem lies in Mogadishu. But anarchy and clan rivalries there have precluded even the beginning of a compromise with Hargeisa. President Egal says he is prepared to accept a federal-type solution and a certain rapprochement with Somalia, but he can get no response from Mogadishu: "There's no one there we can talk to."

(August 12)

High times as farmers cash in on the hemp

The inhabitants of the Rif mountains in Morocco are legally entitled to grow cannabis on their land but not to transport it or sell it. **Philippe Simonnot** reports

THE REDDISH foothills of the Rif mountains, in northwest Morocco, are carpeted with bright green fields of Indian hemp, or *Cannabis sativa*.

Illegal income from the "herb that cures" has enabled the inhabitants of villages like Imizzar to replace the *pisé* walls of their houses with concrete. But it has done little else to change the face of this graceless group of 50 buildings. By comparison, the mud houses of the upper Atlas mountains are well preserved, neat and clean.

Further up the mountain, the cannabis plantations cover steep terraces. Then the landscape changes. The scorched and stunted remains of hundreds of once magnificent Aleppo pines stand like forlorn skeletons: their foliage has been burnt to prevent it shading the sun-loving cannabis plants.

There is a strict segregation of the sexes in the way cannabis cultivation is organised. Women have to do all the hardest tasks, such as fetching water. At dawn they set off to the water supply point and bring back the precious liquid, which the head of the household then pours on to his cannabis plants as though it came out of a tap. Women also carry fodder and wood, and weed the cannabis plantations. They continue working right up to the end of the day while their menfolk sit around talking. Cannabis growing has not changed their condition.

Imizzar is a fairly typical village in that it has no *hammam*, clinic or state school. The inhabitants are strict Muslims — which does not mean they are fundamentalists, at least not for the moment. Few locals smoke *kif* (marijuana). Their view is that a true Berber may cultivate the plant, but should leave its consumption to "the Arabs".

Once the female plants have reached maturity their flowering tips are cut off. The yield per hectare is 400-500kg. As a kilogram of cannabis at this point is worth less than $10, farmers earn about $4,000 per hectare, which is a small fortune to them and 10 times what they would get for a wheat or barley crop.

But instead of selling the product in its raw state, the farmers are intelligent enough to see that they can make an even bigger profit by processing it on the spot. The first operation involves turning the grass into powder, by chopping it up very finely and putting it through various sorts of sieves. It takes one worker barely a day to turn 100kg of cannabis into 4kg of powder. But the added value is huge, as the powder sells for up to $590 a kilo.

As well as being easier to transport, powder can be turned into resin, which is the preferred type of export. Although the resin-producing process is gruelling, it is well worth it: the end product sells for up to $1,200 a kilo.

There are thought to be 70,000 hectares of cannabis plantations in the Rif region, which produce a total income of about $1.5 billion. Once it reaches a place like Paris, a gram of resin costs about as much as a kilo of cannabis in Morocco.

While cannabis growing is legal, it is forbidden to transport or sell it. But such is the income generated by it that police and troublemaking officials are easily bribed as the product makes its way to such ports as Tangiers, Melilla and Ceuta, where it leaves for southern Europe.

The charming streets of Chechaouen, in the Rif foothills, exude prosperity. "Chechaouen used to be an important town in the former Spanish Morocco," says a local government official. "In the part of Morocco that was a French protectorate, cannabis crops disappeared because the French state imposed its tobacco monopoly. As a result, cannabis growing became concentrated in the Spanish part.

"When Morocco gained independence, the government thought of extending the ban on cannabis growing throughout the country, but realised it was politically impossible, particularly as several cannabis smugglers had played a leading role in the liberation struggle and were regarded as veritable heroes. So King Mohamed V granted the inhabitants of the Rif the 'privilege' of being allowed to grow cannabis legally.

"But at the time it was impossible to foresee that there would be such enormous demand for the product in Europe. No one can now call into question this 'legal right', as to do so would carry the risk of triggering a second Rif war," said the official.

"You French are entitled to produce wine and export your poison all over the world, aren't you? So why aren't we allowed to? Perhaps because we're a poor and helpless little country. Naturally, the EU is constantly pestering us to halt production, as are the Americans, who fear the cannabis route is being used by the Mafia to transport much harder drugs."

I wondered whether the privilege granted by Mohamed V was not unfair to other Moroccans, who are forced to work hard to scrape a living. The official's response was: "You're French and you earn perhaps 10 times what I earn. Do you call that unfair?"

(August 10)

Nigeria rocks to a changing tune

Michèle Maringues reports from Lagos on the dampening of a once thriving music scene

IT WAS 2am. Wreathed in a fragrant cloud of marijuana smoke, Fela Kuti had just arrived at the African Shrine auditorium surrounded by a gaggle of hangers-on, female dancers and favourites. As a shower of Cellophane-packed condoms came down from the ceiling, which his admirers immediately snatched up and inflated like balloons, he let rip his war cry: "Condoms no good for fuck!"

Who would have thought that the lecherous father of "Afro beat" might one day have something in common with Pope John Paul, even though he doesn't share the latter's views on sexual abstinence?

Fela crudely mimed the act of love with his dancing girls and hammered his message home: "We're Africans and we don't believe all those stories the whites tell us about Aids."

The audience, mostly male, nodded approvingly (the latest figures suggest that the percentage of the Nigerian population with HIV is 3.8 per cent, which is a low figure for Africa, though it represents almost 4 million people).

At 2.40am, when his exertions were over, Fela, who is 70 and painfully thin, slumped into a chair and smoked a joint. Twenty minutes later, he leapt back on stage like a young billy goat, filled the auditorium with his grating voice and went on to treat the audience to a saxophone solo. Still an extraordinarily good performer, he looked as young as he did at the time when he used to boast of having six women a day.

At 4am Fela vanished, only to return a little later naked to the waist. His face was painted and he looked dead serious. Then began an interminable ritual in front of an altar set up just below the stage, complete with candles and offerings of food to the icons of eternal Africa, with actors miming the sufferings of slaves and the liberation of the continent. Holding a long and writhing snake round his neck, Fela seemed lost in his dreams.

The walls of the African Shrine are no longer adorned with photographs of Patrice Lumumba, Malcolm X and Kwame Nkrumah, his pan-African heroes. All that remain are portraits of Fela's mother Funmilayo, the rebel with the gentle face of a schoolmistress, who was thrown out of a window to her death by soldiers in 1977.

"This cult of his mother, which he celebrates in public every Saturday, has come to be increasingly important to him in the past two years," says one of his women cousins. "Every time I set foot in the Shrine, the ritual lasts longer. But if people were bored by it, if it didn't live up to their expectations, they wouldn't attend in such large numbers."

It is ironic that one of the most gifted musicians in Africa should have ended up dressed like a high priest and stuck in the rut of his same old hits because he is incapable of innovating.

Despite unpleasant accusations of murder two years ago, his prestige in the eyes of the younger generation of southern Nigeria remains intact. In the jails of Lagos, starving and vermin-ridden prisoners ironically name their cells "the Republic of Kalakuta".

Kalakuta is the name Fela gave his large house in Ikela, which is always crammed with musicians, children and visitors. The latter have to have the patience of a saint if they wish to meet the great man — he devotes a great deal of his time to his wives.

It was also as a tribute to the ageing rebel that the illegal radio station Frequency Liberty Radio, launched by members of the Nigerian opposition at the end of June, chose a Fela song, "Authority Stealing", as a signature tune to one of its programmes.



Strutting his stuff . . . Fela Kuti keeping his fans happy in the eighties. His act has changed little since then

The musical scene in Lagos has had its heyday. Nowadays songs describe the depressing litany of woes that life under the generals has brought the population: a political clampdown, international isolation, rampant poverty and so on.

"Ten years ago, you could listen to live music practically every evening, but now people are afraid to go out, and they have much less money to spend," says Fran Kuboye, who runs the Lagos club, Jazz 38, with her husband Tunde (the rest of the time she is a dentist and he a university lecturer).

It is often women who keep the flames of night life and good jazz burning in Nigeria. That was evident during a highly successful music festival held in June at the French Cultural Centre in Lagos. An audience of 2,000 Nigerians and expats — for once mixing socially — gave an enthusiastic reception to a programme that included not only the French group, Orphétéon, and the venerable Lagos Swing College Band, but Maya's Real Deal, Silo's Jazz Masters and the lively Quartette, led by Yinka Davies, a graceful slip of a girl with a stentorian voice.

But the revelation for most of the audience was the Lagbaja group. Lagbaja is the name of a striking masked figure made of strips of *aso-oke* (the traditional fabric used to assemble the huge Yoruba dresses), which make it look like a cross between a tramp and an urban guerrilla.

The group, which consists of 3 musicians, is led by 35-year-old Bisade Ologunde, singer, saxophonist, composer, and author of a thesis on the marketing of Nigerian music. Bisade, who like everyone of his generation is strongly influenced by "Afro beat" and King Sunny Ade's Juju Music, is one of the few performers who try to innovate musically while maintaining the scathingly critical tone typical of Fela.

"It's become difficult to make music nowadays, if only because imported instruments are so expensive," Bisade explains. "That's why Fuji music is making such a strong comeback in the southwest: it uses traditional instruments. You can equip a whole band for 1,000 naira [$16]. But we can't afford to make a step backwards in the direction of traditional music. I'd like to be able to use contemporary instruments in a multicultural approach."

References to tradition nevertheless remain strong, especially in the spectacular image of the "masked singer", which reflects not only the anonymity of the ordinary citizen who is crushed by the system but the malevolent powers of ancestors.

The exorbitant price of modern instruments has resulted in most young Nigerian musicians being kept on the sidelines of the main experimental trends now sweeping through European and young black American music. Worse, it has often left them with no choice but to join one of the countless churches with Pentecostal leanings which thrive in the south of the country.

"They have plenty of money and use music to attract worshippers," says Bisade. "It's a golden opportunity for a young musician with no money who wants to learn how to play drums or the electric guitar."

Each week, after listening politely to an endless sermon, improving their knowledge of the Bible and praying, members of the congregation really let themselves go as Sister Hope booms out her catchy hymn tune to the thunderous sound of brass and synthesisers. And everyone joins in the fun: middle-aged women, old people, children, choirboys, and even the clergymen.

(August 19)

Okinawa takes its revenge through music

Philippe Pons reports from Naha on a melting pot of musical talent

UNTIL the 19th century, the subtropical archipelago of Okinawa was a tiny kingdom situated at the crossroads of China, Japan and the rest of Asia. It consequently became a cultural melting pot or, in the local dialect, a *chanpuru* (a dish containing any ingredients that come to hand).

Returned to Japan by the United States in 1972 and influenced even today by the continuing presence of American military bases there, Okinawa produces musical and dance forms that are central to its identity.

Its extraordinarily rich folklore, reflected in the abundance of myths and legends which feature in its songs, combines with the modern rhythms of jazz, rock and reggae to form a highly individual musical style, which makes full use of the *sanshin*, or lute (*shamisen* in Japanese), drums, electric guitar and choirs singing in dialect.

Two private radio stations broadcast a continuous stream of traditional and modern folk songs. The people of Okinawa like to say that while "the Japanese show off their sabres, we show off our *sanshin*".

The success of their music is one of the most striking phenomena of Japan's new mass culture. After long being subject to condescension on the part of central Japan, the music of Okinawa has now spread throughout the Far East. Record shops no longer classify it as Japanese pop, but put it in their "world music" section along with other Asian folk music, which is also in vogue at the moment.

For the Japanese, the use of dialect adds a touch of exoticism. Even though they do not understand the language, they like to mouth some of the lyrics in almost incantatory fashion.

Okinawa rock first began to acquire a certain popularity in the sixties and seventies in the town of Koza, the main American base, then known as Okinawa City. When the archipelago returned to Japanese rule, it was given a new name so as to erase its image as a sexual playground for American soldiers.

Koza's heyday came during the Vietnam war. "The city was the rear base of battle operations," a veteran journalist remembers. "You could find anything there — sex, violence, drugs, music. The GIs insisted on good music, otherwise they would go mad and smash everything up."

It was in Koza that the stars of the first generation of Japanese rock stars emerged, people like George Murasaki, the son of a Japanese interpreter at the base, and Mari and Yukyo Kyan, who became the big names of the sixties in Okinawa.

The success of its music has enabled Okinawa to take its revenge for earlier humiliations. The archipelago has gradually lost its inferiority complex vis-à-vis the rest of Japan. Resentment caused by its annexation in 1879, the ensuing discrimination, and the Armageddon which the second world war brought down on a people that had no expansionist ambitions have been superseded by a mystical quest for peace. Their music is an expression of the absolute and rather idealist pacifism that is the dominant ideology of Okinawa's younger generation.

The slogans chanted by star singer Shokichi Kina include "Arms should be exchanged for musical instruments", "Live in harmony with nature", and "Governments separate humans, it's in dance that we come together again".

Each summer Koza is the venue for an open-air Peaceful Love-Rock Festival. People flock there from all over Japan. Although Kina made his debut in Koza, he hardly ever performs there now, unlike some of his singer colleagues.

The latter include Alberto Shiroma and the Diamantes, a group of Okinawans who emigrated to Peru and are strongly influenced by South American rhythms, the Nenesu, a group of four girls who combine folk music and reggae, and above all the Boom, who shot to the top of the hit parade with an album of "samba pop" that sold 1.5 million records in Japan alone.

Some of the singers and groups newly popular with Japan's younger generation are more faithful to tradition. They come from the more remote islands in the archipelago, such as the Yaehama islets, which have an extraordinarily rich heritage of folk music bound up with working the land. They include Daiichi Hirata, who hails from Yaehama and sings the praises of nature, and Yukito Ara, who comes from Ishigaki.

To celebrate the 50th anniversary of the end of the war on August 15, Kina organised a pilgrimage on board two fishing boats of traditional design. They left the extreme southern tip of Okinawa in April and, allowing themselves to be swept along by the current that winds its way between the islands of the archipelago, they drifted towards Nagasaki and Hiroshima and received messages of peace at every port of call on their 2,000km journey.

(August 18)

Le Monde

Directeur: Jean-Marie Colombani

Wu's Expulsion Helps to Heal Rift

Steven Mufson in Beijing

CHINA'S expulsion last week of detained American human rights activist Harry Wu removed an irritant from U.S.-Chinese relations, but domestic political pressures that turned Wu's arrest for espionage into a potent symbol in both countries could slow down a healing in relations between the two global powers.

In the United States, the activist who has exposed prison conditions in his native China became a symbol of American concern for human rights and of Washington's determination to protect its citizens. With the 1996 presidential election season starting, Wu's case became a political football for candidates vying to show strength in foreign policy by talking tough about the importance of his release.

In China, surprisingly similar domestic political pressures also made Wu a potent symbol. Here, in the twilight of senior leader Deng Xiaoping's life, domestic politics helped make Wu a symbol of China's determination to stand up to the United States, protect state secrets and domestic order, and squelch challenges to the ruling Communist Party from domestic dissidents and disgruntled exiles.

Although domestic political pressures are more transparent in the United States, Brantly Womack, a University of Virginia professor of Chinese politics, says parochial concerns are also key in China. "Chinese politics are secret," Womack said, "but it's clear that with domestic problems and the political succession, domestic concerns are the primary thing on the mind of the central leadership even with something as closely related to the external situation as Harry Wu."

High on the list of domestic concerns is the need to look tough enough to govern this nation of 1.2 billion people after the death of 91-year-old Deng and to satisfy influential military leaders concerned about standing up to other nations.

Although the decision to detain Wu might have been made by lower-level security officials, Wu's case handed Beijing hard-liners an opportunity to undercut their rivals. Already fuming over the U.S. visa granted to Taiwanese President Lee Teng-hui to make a private visit to the United States in June, hard-liners seized on Wu's case to defy Washington, which Chinese officials feel has been bullying China on issues ranging from human rights to trade to missile sales.

Domestic political pressures probably contributed to the timing of Wu's release last week, before the start of substantive talks in Beijing between senior Chinese Foreign Ministry officials and Undersecretary of State Peter Tarnoff. To have released Wu after the talks would make it appear as though China were giving in to American pressure.

If it was supposed to be a conciliatory gesture to Washington for the Chinese government to expel Wu after a Wuhan court convicted him and sentenced him to 15 years in jail, the gesture was heavily disguised in combative rhetoric.

The domestic need to strike a tough posture also has been fueling the rhetorical salvos Beijing has been firing at Lee, who has pursued greater international recognition for Taiwan. The Communist government in Beijing regards Taiwan as a renegade province of China. Last week Beijing announced the conclusion of the second set of missile tests held within close range of Taiwan, in what appears to be an intimidating reminder of strategic realities in the region.



Harry Wu, the human rights activist, supports himself in the dock while the court sentences him to 15 years in jail for espionage

While playing to militant constituencies and sending a tough message to foreigners, China's leaders also have attempted to use the Wu case to bolster their legitimacy by claiming to adhere to the "rule of law." Wu could not be released before being brought to trial, the government insisted. Some government officials noted the irony that the United States, which generally has tried to promote the rule of law in China, wanted Beijing to short-circuit judicial process and expel Wu.

But human rights observers note that the "rule of law" in China does little to protect defendants. Wu was tried in a one-day session closed to all except his lawyers and a U.S. Embassy official. As in most Chinese trials, the outcome was never in doubt.

"The criminal justice system in China, especially where dissidents are concerned, is the plaything of the Communist Party," said Robin Munro, Hong Kong director of Human Rights Watch/Asia. Munro said he marveled at the "chutzpah" of Chinese government "spin doctors" who hid behind alleged respect for judicial process.

The use of Wu as a "pawn" in relations with the United States, Munro said, only demonstrated the Communist Party's control of the court system.

Another domestic concern for the Chinese government has been to use the detention of Wu to send a message to other Chinese exiles who might think about returning to expose conditions or challenge Communist Party rule. Since the crackdown on student demonstrators in 1989, the number of Chinese exiles has increased, and many take part in organizations devoted to bringing about political changes here.

Neighbours Tighten Up On Saddam

R. Jeffrey Smith

THE GOVERNMENTS of Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Kuwait privately have assured the United States they are eager to exploit new cracks in the authority of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, but they said imposing concrete measures such as new trade embargoes will take time, according to senior U.S. officials.

The Arab governments told a high-level U.S. delegation that visited the capitals of their countries last month they agree with Washington that Saddam's continued control of Iraq is a threat to their security and an impediment to the region's stability, the officials said.

They also expressed a readiness to begin more earnest exploration of new ways of weakening Saddam's control in coming weeks and months, possibly including a collaborative effort to restrict Iraqi trade with Jordan outside of food or humanitarian items, the officials said.

But the governments did not say when they would begin to implement such measures, disappointing some U.S. officials who said they had hoped the recent defection to Jordan of several senior Iraqis might galvanize the four nations to put in place tough new anti-Saddam measures right away.

A senior official said the administration was "encouraged . . . that events are moving in the right direction — that (Jordanian officials) will move their domestic audience toward accepting more distance from Iraq."

The White House had dispatched Assistant Secretary of State Robert Pelletreau, Special Assistant to the President Mark Parris and Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Bruce Riedel to urge Jordan to sever most of its economic ties with Iraq and to press Saudi Arabia and Kuwait to renew economic contacts with Jordan that could replace its trade with Iraq.

Saudi Arabia and Kuwait have withheld oil sales to Jordan, as well as other trade, since the 1991 Persian Gulf War in retaliation for King Hussein's refusal to distance his country from Iraq in the aftermath of Baghdad's conquest of Kuwait.

One U.S. official said, "It's not going to be a night-to-day situation because of the lingering hurt" in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait over Jordan's stance during the war.

The officials said the trip had proved that King Hussein was determined to maintain his anti-Saddam stance.

According to U.S. government estimates, about 80 percent of the world's imports and exports to Iraq now go through Jordan, making its cooperation essential in the U.S. drive to step up pressure on Saddam. Trade with Iraq technically has been embargoed by the United Nations since Iraq's 1990 invasion of Kuwait, but the Iraqi-Jordanian border is notoriously "porous," as one official put it.

Jordan's annual earnings from this illicit commerce amount to between $400 million and $1 billion, according to varying estimates by U.S. and Arab analysts.

ABC Backs Down Over Tobacco Charges

Howard Kurtz

HARVARD law professor Laurence Tribe called it "a disgraceful settlement." CBS correspondent Mike Wallace said he is "utterly bewildered as to why they settled." And the ABC reporter and producer involved pointedly refused to sign the agreement.

The day after ABC settled a $10 billion lawsuit by Philip Morris Cos. and RJ Reynolds Tobacco Co. with a public apology, critics within and outside the network were asking whether its capitulation would have a lasting effect on investigative reporting, particularly of such powerful industries as tobacco.

Not since NBC apologized to General Motors Corp. for a 1992 program featuring a staged truck explosion has a television network backed down in such a public way in the face of a corporate lawsuit.

"The damage done is not just to the credibility of ABC's news operation and the chilling effect it might have on aggressive reporting," said Bill Kovach, curator of the Nieman Foundation at Harvard University. "There's also the impact on society. This slows down a movement in the country to question whether cigarettes should be treated as a drug."

But Lawrence Grossman, a former NBC News president, offered a different perspective. "I think we don't do enough of saying we made a mistake," he said. "Admittedly this was done under a lawsuit situation, but . . . they were smart to say it was wrong. One of the problems with all the folks in news is they've got a glass jaw — they can dish it out but they can't take it."

While one staff member said many at ABC are "disappointed that they folded their tents too fast," reporter and anchor Sam Donaldson voiced support for the settlement. "As I understand it, we made a mistake — a minor mistake in the overall piece, but that was the mistake on which they were suing us," he said. "We were going into a court where the judge's family is in the tobacco business . . . I do not believe it represents a chilling drawback by the news division."

Still, with the Walt Disney Co. about to acquire ABC, Westinghouse Electric Corp. moving to buy CBS and General Electric Co. owning NBC, some attorneys and media analysts questioned whether the networks will be less aggressive in tackling difficult subjects that could lead to costly litigation. And big companies, they say, are more likely to wield lawsuits as a weapon to neutralize unfavorable publicity.

ABC's "Day One" report of February 1994 on the industry's handling of nicotine spawned a bitter battle in which a team of industry lawyers tried to obtain the private records of ABC journalists to unmask their confidential sources.

After sticking by its story for 18 months, ABC, in a statement on "World News Tonight," said it had made a "mistake."

The hour-long "Day One" broadcast charged the cigarette industry "artificially adds nicotine to keep people smoking and boost profits." Philip Morris and Reynolds acknowledged removing nicotine while making reconstituted tobacco (used in virtually all cigarettes) and later restoring it to the finished cigarettes, but denied increasing the overall level of nicotine.

Much of the lawsuit turned on ABC's charge that cigarettes were "spiked" with nicotine. "We now agree that we should not have reported that Philip Morris and Reynolds add significant amounts of nicotine from outside sources," the ABC statement said.

The network agreed to pay what will likely amount to millions of dollars in legal fees amassed by the two tobacco companies.

Some ABC News staff were bitterly opposed to the apology, first offered in June. The reports by correspondent John Martin and Pulitzer Prize-winning producer Walt Bogdanich won a George Polk Award, one of American journalism's most prestigious honors.

Capital Cities/ABC executives and their lawyers admittedly were worried about trying the case in Richmond, where trial judge Theodore J. Markow — whose brother and two brothers-in-law work for Philip Morris — made what they considered to be unfavorable rulings.

Markow ordered 13 companies, including American Express, Hertz and AT&T, to turn over phone and travel records of ABC journalists, but later stayed the order.

The ABC executives also faced the likelihood that the October trial would highlight embarrassing video "outtakes." For example, ABC did not air comments in which a former Reynolds manager, dubbed "Deep Cough", denied the company raised the nicotine content of cigarettes.

But legal experts note Philip Morris was required to prove the network acted with malice in airing a report it knew to be false. "Anybody with half a brain would advise (ABC) that at the end of the road they will prevail," Tribe said. He said the settlement "made economic sense," by avoiding a protracted battle, if the network was concerned "purely with the bottom line."

Cartel Links Imperil Samper

Douglas Farah in Bogota

FOR President Ernesto Samper, this should be the best of times. His government has captured the leaders of the notorious Cali cocaine cartel, drawing applause around the world. As a result, it seemed he would finally shake allegations of drug money in his election campaign that have dogged him for a year.

But Santiago Medina, his once trusted campaign treasurer, has rained on the parade, leveling new charges and giving credibility to old ones that the Samper campaign collected money from drug barons. In the process, Medina has kicked off the most serious political crisis in Colombia since open warfare between the Liberal and Conservative parties ended in 1958.

The gist of the charges is not new — that the Samper campaign, with knowledge of the candidate, accepted millions of dollars in money from Cali cartel leaders, specifically the brothers Gilberto and Miguel Rodriguez-Orejuela. But Medina, in testimony before an investigating magistrate that found its way into print last month, has added details and credibility to the charges, describing a double-accounting system that he says allowed at least $6 million in drug money to enter the campaign and recounting how he traveled to Cali to solicit the funds.

Medina also charged that Fernando Botero, the Harvard-educated scion of a prestigious family who served as Samper's campaign manager and later as defense minister, ordered him to pick up the money. Botero, who was arrested last month, denies the charges, but he, too, now faces interrogation by a magistrate.

The first-hand testimony provided by Medina, along with his implication of Botero, have suddenly created a new atmosphere of crisis in Colombia. They added substance and judicial weight to longstanding but unproven allegations against Samper and set off a chorus of demands for his resignation.

Samper's own version of what happened has evolved since his election in May 1994. First, he denied any drug money went to his campaign. Then he said that, while some drug money may have been collected, it was done without his knowledge. Now some government officials are suggesting that Medina was a Cali cartel "mole", sent by drug lords now in jail to embarrass the president with lies.

Despite the calls for Samper to step down, he has made it clear he has no plans to do so. He recently declared a 90-day state of emergency that allows him to rule without legislative oversight, saying the action was taken to combat rampant violence in the country and rejecting charges that it was designed to divert attention from the drug-money scandal.

The congressional Commission of Accusations will now decide if there is enough evidence to indict Samper; if so, he would be tried by the Senate. But at least two members of the commission are under investigation themselves for allegedly taking drug money, investigators said.

"President Samper cannot be condemned for taking illegal funds by congressmen who, almost in their entirety, financed their campaigns the same way," wrote Antonio Caballero last week in his influential column in Cambio 16 magazine.

Those who know Medina say the portly, balding antiques dealer is an unlikely figure to threaten the presidency. A staunch Samper supporter, he denied all accusations when first questioned. But, according to law enforcement officials familiar with the case, Medina came to believe that Samper was about to make him a scapegoat, so he bolted to the prosecutor general's office with hundreds of documents and began to talk.

El Tiempo, the nation's largest and most influential newspaper, received a copy of Medina's statement and, on August 3, devoted three full pages to reprinting it in its entirety, which set off a political earthquake.

Analysts say that what makes Medina's testimony so damaging is that it confirms the main points of charges against Samper that surfaced the day after he won the election last May, when Andres Pastrana, the losing Conservative Party candidate, made public several audio tapes that he said were given to his campaign. The so-called "narco-cassettes" contained purported conversations between the Rodriguez brothers and members of Samper's campaign, discussing contributions of about $3.2 million.

Medina had remained silent until Samper conceded, for the first time, that drug money may have found its way into his campaign treasury, but behind his back.

"Santiago knew then he was going to be the one to pay the price," said a source close to the case. "If they had handled Medina right, he wouldn't have talked. But they let him panic, and he got his documents together and ran."

India Faces AIDS Explosion

The disease is poised to hit hard as it spreads rapidly through Asia, writes **John Ward Anderson** in Calcutta

MOHAMMED ISRAEL has been a truck driver for 21 years, ferrying loads across India and visiting four to five prostitutes a week to satisfy his voracious appetite for sex — created, he says, by hot, spicy food. He has never used a condom, and he has never heard of AIDS.

Truckers like Israel are an important catalyst for the rapid spread of AIDS, carrying the HIV virus that causes the deadly disease along India's highways from urban red-light districts to small-town flophouses to their family homes in rural villages. A battery of recent surveys of truckers in Calcutta found that more than 5 percent of the drivers had the HIV virus, more than 90 percent visited at least one prostitute a week, and 68 percent never used a condom.

But it is not just truckers who are uninformed about AIDS and HIV. In a survey of 57 doctors in Bangalore — often described as India's most technologically advanced city — 25 percent said HIV could be spread by casual contact, 35 percent said HIV patients should be denied first aid, and 81 percent believed that a syringe could be reused if the needle were changed.

Such ignorance has helped make India ground zero in the global AIDS epidemic, which has killed 3 million people since the late 1970s. By some estimates, India now has more HIV carriers than any other nation, propelling South and Southeast Asia to a gruesome milestone: For the first time, more people will contract HIV in Asia this year than in Africa, the world's AIDS hot spot, where entire nations are being ravaged by the sickness.

"Clearly, the center of gravity of the world's AIDS epidemic is moving rapidly toward Asia," Columbia University economist and AIDS specialist David Bloom said in a recent speech. "Many experts now believe that India will soon be the AIDS capital of the world."

The epidemic comes as India is trying to integrate itself into world markets with economic reforms that are creating huge social changes, making projections about the disease daunting.

There are about 80,000 AIDS cases in India and 1.5 million people infected with HIV, according to statistics from the World Health Organization (WHO) and the Indian government. By the year 2000, experts predict, 1 million people will have AIDS in India and 5 million will be HIV-positive. India could have as many as 30 million people with HIV by the year 2010 — about twice today's worldwide total.

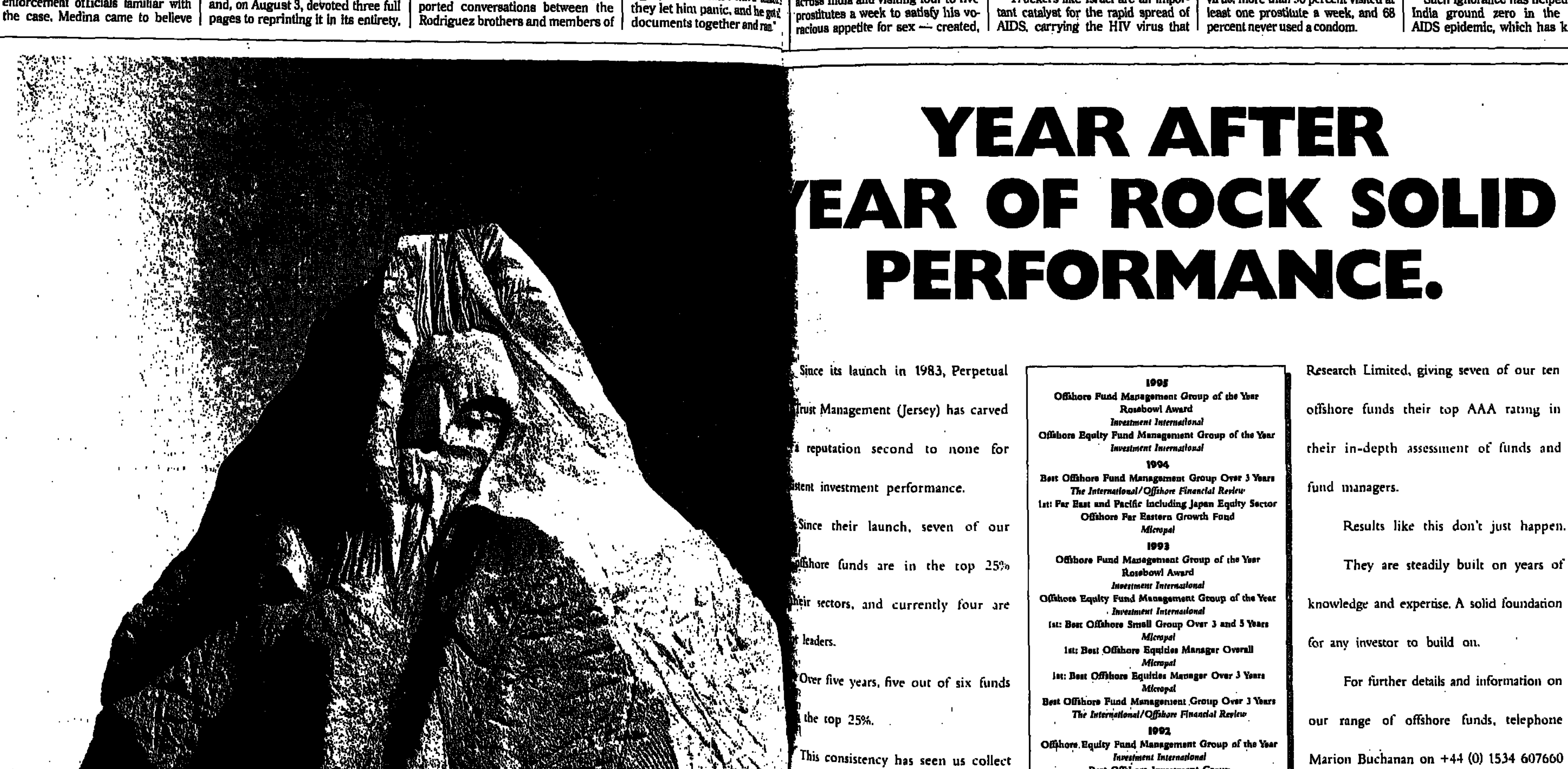
"If the pattern of an expanding HIV epidemic continues to occur in India, the consequences for this country of 858 million people will be catastrophic," said an article in Medicine magazine. "The HIV/AIDS epidemic in India now threatens to undermine the achievements in public health made over the past 60 years," the story said.

There have been about 4.5 million AIDS cases since the early 1970s, and 13 million to 14 million current HIV cases globally, according to WHO. Nearly two-thirds of all the current HIV cases are in Africa.

AIDS came late to Asia — about 10 years after it first began ravaging the Americas, Europe and Africa. Now, as the spread of the disease in those areas is leveling off or declining, AIDS is charging full-throttle into Asia, an underdeveloped region with an undereducated populace. If the disease spreads here the way it spread in Africa — and experts believe it will — tens of millions of adults could die, creating millions of orphans and overwhelming government health facilities and social services. Currently, only 0.2 percent of India's population has HIV or AIDS, while in the worst-hit countries of Africa, almost 20 percent of the adult population is infected.

Unlike the United States and other developed Western countries, where the disease initially was spread primarily through homosexual contact, AIDS is spreading in India primarily through heterosexual contact, as in Africa. India also has a sizable population of intravenous drug users and a network of professional blood donors, leading to the spread of AIDS between people who share needles and those who receive contaminated blood.

As experts urge India to get on to a war footing — the annual AIDS budget is about $20 million, or 2 cents per person — the country is facing the same problems that other developing nations confronted in the early phase of the epidemic: Because AIDS generally has a roughly 10-year incubation period during which no symptoms are apparent, the effects of the disease in India are still largely hidden, making it difficult for politicians to justify large budget outlays when other killer diseases, such as malaria, typhoid and hepatitis, are rampant.



Mobsters In Red Square

Michael Dobbs

COMRADE CRIMINAL
Russia's New Mafiya
By Stephen Handelman
Yale University Press. 416 pp. $27.50



ILLUSTRATION: JEAN-FRANCOIS ALLAUX

A COUPLE of months before I left Russia in the summer of 1993, I interviewed a KGB general in Moscow's infamous Lubyanka prison. I had gone to see him to talk about the new mafia, which was already in the process of replacing the old Communist nomenklatura as Russia's ruling class. Amid the flood of statistics about murders and bombings and billions of dollars in illegal capital flight, the general told me something that has stuck in my mind ever since.

"You westerners think that this mafia is an internal Russian problem. When we ask the FBI to trace one of these criminals, who has fled overseas, they are reluctant to help. But watch out. There will come a time when you will understand that this is your problem too."

The general was right. Over the past two years, crime has become one of Russia's most successful exports. Easily distinguishable by their "Godfather" style of dress, floozy companions and habit of paying for everything in cash, Russian mobsters have taken over the beaches of the Cote d'Azur and the ski slopes of the Alps. They have given a formidable boost to the upper end of the London real estate market, despite brief flurries of bad publicity resulting from a string of macabre murders. They have also turned up in North America, sending the crime rate shooting up in Russian expatriate communities, such as Brighton Beach.

But there is another reason why we should be concerned about the rise of the Russian mafia. Back in 1991, after the collapse of the hard-line communist coup, Americans hailed the triumph of democracy and free markets in the former "evil empire." With the benefit of hindsight, these hopes now seem pretty naive. What Americans failed to take into account at the time was the fact that the old communist nomenklatura had been co-opted by the mafia and transformed into a new ruling class. The key to acquiring wealth and influence in the new Russia is the communist "old-comrade" network. If you can bribe someone to give you an export license to sell cheap Russian oil or aluminum on the world market, you have it made. Without such connections, it is virtually impossible to get ahead. As a former press secretary to Boris Yeltsin, Pavel Voschanov, once remarked: "The criminal party has left the stage, but the criminal state has remained."

This is the central theme of Stephen Handelman's new book, Comrade Criminal, which is likely to remain the definitive work on the Russian mafia for some time to come. A former Moscow correspondent for the Toronto Star, Handelman describes how the second Russian revolution was hijacked by former apparatchiks and criminals whose primary goal was personal enrichment. He shows how "privatization" rapidly degenerated into "grab-it-ization." Contrary to popular perception in the West, Russia is a fabulously wealthy country, rich in exportable commodities such as oil, timber and minerals. It is easy to understand why rival criminal and bureaucratic gangs are willing to risk so much to grab even a tiny share of this national treasure.

If I have a criticism of Handelman's generally very readable book, it is that the anecdotes all tend to sound the same after a while. Take the case of Leonid Zapalsky, a deputy Russian economics minister who was responsible for "liquidating" the property of the Soviet economics ministry shortly after the abortive August 1991 coup. In the process of fulfilling his duties, he transferred the buildings, 50 computers and 220 fax machines to a joint venture that he had set up with fellow bureaucrats. An anti-corruption commission eventually recovered most of the money, but the case never went any further, because of Zapalsky's good standing with the Yeltsin government. There are hundreds of ... stories in Comrade Criminal.

The economic system that ... in Russia today is neither fi... fowl, neither capitalism nor ... nism. It is a perverted, hybri... of capitalism that has grown ... the old command economy ... petty corruption that existed ... the communist period but ... swept under the carpet. Inde... roots can be traced back to ... times, when it was quite natu... government officials to use th... sitions for personal gain. H... man quotes Nicholas I telli... son during the Crimean War, ... lieve you and I are the only ... in Russia who don't steal."

As Handelman points out, ... sive corruption has contribu... the disillusionment millions o... nary Russians feel about the ... of "democracy." In a parad... kind of way, however, it ha... helped ensure that there will ... return to the communist past ... of the main reasons the Part... willing to give up power wit... fight was the discovery by the ... ratchiks that they could survi... prosper in the "new Russia." ... of these people are now weal... yond their wildest dreams, a... have no desire to give it all ... Handelman's words, "the ga... bureaucrat's ability to use the ... down of the Soviet regime a... vacuum of legal authority to ... wealth and power . . . ensured ... the old system would never ... even as it transformed the cha... of the second Russian revolut...

Michael Dobbs, a diplomatic reporter for The Post and Mos... bureau chief from 1988 to 19..., ... working on a book on the co... of communism.

Of Demons and Delights

Michael Dirda

WHILE THE MESSIAH TARRIES
Stories
By Melvin Jules Bukiet
Harcourt Brace. 197 pp. $20

TRUE STORY: Wearing my editor's cap I planned to assign While the Messiah Tarries to an outside reviewer — a good critic, interested in Jewish fiction, especially the kind tinged with fantasy à la Isaac Bashevis Singer — when I opened the book and started to read "Gematria." Here is its first paragraph:

"Eight emeralds lay on the pale green felt square. Rosensweig fingered the edge of the cloth. He had chosen it carefully to accent the color of the jewels. Had it been sapphires on display, he would have used his baby blue felt, and for rubies the delicate pink, but like everyone else on the block he had his specialty, emeralds, so that the bud-green cloth was used more frequently than all the others combined. For a truly colorless diamond, one that really incorporated the entire prism, he would have used the dead black cloth that sat underneath the rest, but he had never seen such a gem. Cynics claimed that utter flawlessness did not exist, but he kept the untouched cloth in his stack as a sign of faith in the idea of perfection."

The assurance of the prose, the entrancing voice of the storyteller, the allure of the title (gematria I knew — don't ask how — was the cabbalistic use of numbers to discover "the secret truths evident beneath the surface of language"), and, above all, that feather's touch of humor — all these were quite irresistible. But what about the plot? That too, it turned out, couldn't be better. A mysterious, sallow woman comes to New York's 47th Street jewelry district in search of a perfectly square emerald. She herself wears no earrings, bracelets or rings. She scorns the most valuable gems, demanding only an emerald with four sides. Rosensweig promises "to make inquiries." Soon, Jewish gem dealers are being murdered in peculiar ways — strangled by a whip wrapped three times around the neck, stabbed with a knife exactly 30 times, shot with six diamond bullets — and near each body is a message: "Keep the Corner."

I won't say more about how the tale develops, though astute readers will suspect the influence of Borges's great story "Death and the Compass." Rosensweig actually lives in the Pierre Menard Towers, an apartment building that borrows its name from another Borges masterpiece. When detected, and Bukiet certainly expects it to be, such literariness adds a little fillip to the reader's pleasure, like recognizing that The Erudite Angler bookstore derives from the Gotham Book Mart (whose motto is "Wise Men Fish Here"). When Rosensweig drops in, the shop's owner says, "Sir. We have just received a letter from Gershom Scholem to Walter Benjamin qualifying the nature of quiddity. Perhaps you are interested." Who wouldn't be?

Normally, short stories ought to be enjoyed slowly, taken one at bedtime or after meals. But so entrancing was "Gematria" that I kept reading Bukiet's collection until six hours later I turned its last page. Even so, I flipped back through the nine stories, returning to favorite sentences and passages, smiling over turns of phrase. A night club in a Russian neighborhood of Brooklyn is called the Whisky-a-Gogol (neatly appropriate for a story about doubles). On the face of an ambitious archaeologist, with the punning name of Claude Morraine, one sees "the distinctively youthful look of intensive thought misapplied." A merchant prince of the garment industry kneads the fabric of a waiter's pants "with the kind of stark intimacy that would have earned him a morals conviction any place west of the Hudson." A young Jewish student falls in love with a blonde gentile named Kelly, "the clarity of whose blue eyes had not been seen in Jerusalem since Richard, Coeur de Lion, departed in 1192, the year of his Lord." Between such obvious flourishes, with their Perelmanesque syntax or echoes of Stanley Elkin, Bukiet inserts perfect paragraphs of description, as in this memory of the Lower East Side in the '20s:

> **Virtually all the stories are Jewish in tone, but even agnostics and fundamentalists will be charmed**

"Outside, lines of clothing hung over the streets like yachting flags, while from the gutters pushcarts sold screwdrivers and galoshes, as they circled around the barrels of brine that contained sour, half-sour, and dill pickles, which were protected by heavy wooden lids from contamination by the chicken feathers that flew through the window of the slaughterhouse on Essex Street. Other vendors cried to the women behind the fire escapes to sharpen their scissors, or to the men to buy holy books nearly as ragged as their would-be readers."

Virtually all the stories in While The Messiah Tarries are strongly Jewish in tone, theme and dramatis personae, but even agnostics and fundamentalists will be charmed by the Bukiet magic. A dishonest kosher butcher falls for a gorgeous redhead who demands fried bacon in exchange for her hot favors. The devil, wearing a janitor's uniform, appears to a rabbi in a derelict shopping mall. By chance, a New Jersey lawyer sees an index card on the bulletin board of the Ares military bookstore: "For sale, rare footage" of Heinrich Himmler "killing his beloved barnyard pets, as the war came to its sad conclusion. Call Roy." An elderly scholar attempts to translate the fragments of a mysterious civilization that may have been the original Eden. A student creates a model of the ancient city of Jerusalem in a college gymnasium, and then finds that his crazed professor plans to bring it to life.

In their smoothness, wi... deeply intellectual use of the ... tastical, Melvin Jules Bu... stories call to mind the under... ciated short fiction of the Sou... writer Fred Chappell (see his ... vel-filled collection More Sh... Than One). Both writers ... their differing heritages to ... beguiling works of art that ... back and forth between the ... and the surreal. Their initial ... notwithstanding, Bukiet's ... like Chappell's, frequently ... death, madness or re... epiphany. They leave you ... or wonder-struck.

Still, that style! "Mild as ... nius ordering the decapitatio... Lette, Mr. Salem asked..." ... subordinate clause — and ... pletely bogus: There are no ... figures in history or mytholog... least I don't think there are ... who can fail to admire the ... mate Nabokovian aplomb? ... sider, too, Bukiet's implicit ... his reader's understanding: A ... drunken American business... gives a speech in which he ... the brave and generous Rus... people for opening the gates ... tween their two nations, lame... that they have been closed ... long. "He went on for a few mi... paraphrasing Robert Frost, ... then he got down to particula... Where a more heavy-handed ... (or reviewer) would ... "Mending Wall" — or even ... "Something there is that does... love a wall" — Bukiet never ... the least necessity. It's just ... more sign of the ease and ... confidence that comes with ... mastery.

Michael Dirda is a writer and edit... for Book World.

...S takeover of regional power firm

...is Barrie, Ian King ...d Geoffrey Gibbs

THE FIRST of Britain's regional electricity companies (Recs) to ... into foreign hands was sold to American utility Southern Com... ...y last week for £1.1 billion.

The sale could bring a £500,000 ...-off for at least one director of ...th Western Electricity (Sweb), ... members of the Bristol-based ...'s employee share option ...eme, a large proportion of the ...0-strong workforce, may gain an ...-tax windfall of £15 million. The ... prompted fears of job losses, ... City speculation focused on ...ether more overseas firms would ... for Recs.

Labour said the consumer had been "all but forgotten" in the free-for-all. Gordon Brown, the shadow chancellor, questioned whether the interests of a regional electricity company in Britain were best served by "an owner based thousands of miles away".

But Nick Harvey, Liberal Democrat MP for North Devon and party industry spokesman, said: "I am much happier for a power company to buy it, even if it is American, than a conglomerate that knows nothing about the industry."

Sweb, one of three Recs facing takeover bids, caved in after the collapse of a planned counter-bid by its British neighbour, Southern Electric. Thomas Boren, president of Southern Company, insisted that it knew the importance of good customer service. And Sweb chairman Maurice Warren said the deal was in the interests of the company's shareholders and its 1.3 million customers in the south-west.

But the National Consumers' Council called for a referral of the bid to the Monopolies and Mergers Commission, and asked for assurances that Sweb would still be subject to price controls. Yvonne Constance, chairwoman of the Electricity Consumers' Committee, said the industry watchdog, Offer, should tighten its controls to ensure Sweb was not milked of funds.

John Seed, outgoing chief executive, stands to pick up £500,000 from the deal, his two-year rolling contract, at £177,000 a year, will be honoured and he will make more than £150,600 on his share options. The other three executive directors will share profits of £388,000 on their options.

The unions reacted with dismay, predicting job cuts. Mike Jeram, head of electricity at Unison, which represents 1,200 Sweb staff, said the union was "very nervous and fearful". Asked about the prospect of job losses, Mr Boren said his company was only looking at plans to cut up to 500 jobs over the next few years. "Until we get in and have an opportunity to look at the books, we cannot comment beyond that."

Southern is offering £9.65 for each Sweb share, 7 per cent more than its earlier offer. Sweb shares were sold for 240p each to investors when it was privatised in December 1990, valuing the company then at £295.4 million, less than one-third of its present value.

Peter Boulding, a financial analyst at the Chartered Institute of Public Finance and Accountancy, said that, "with the benefit of hindsight", all the Recs had clearly been undervalued when sold to the private sector.

The Government was about to announce whether it would refer the three Rec bids — Sweb, Scottish Power's bid for Cheshire-based Manweb, and Hanson's bid for Eastern Group — to the Monopolies and Mergers Commission. Neither the Department of Trade and Industry nor Offer would comment on the possibility of referrals.

City analysts suggested that overseas bidders were awaiting the Government's decision before committing themselves to takeovers. One adviser said "big, respectable companies" would wait for the commission's clearance.

...Seeking salvation in services

...arry Elliott looks at ...e growth prospects ... the UK economy

THE departure lounge at Alicante airport has a bewigged string quartet playing Mozart ...d the Beatles, a Burger King, an ...glish pub and children's enter...ers. What it does not have are ...y planes leaving the ground.

...t is a reminder of why going on ...liday is therapeutic: not being ...ted like cattle on a package ...t, but because it brings home ...t how efficient parts of Britain ... compared with the rest of the ...ld. For example, there may be ... fast rail link to the Channel Tunnel, but the purpose-built terminal ... Waterloo knocks spots off the ...ke-do-and-mend Gare du Nord.

No question, Britain's service ...tor works. It is innovative, cheap ..., in today's ghastly jargon, cus...er-driven. But is it the key to fu... prosperity? Does it really ...tter that Britain, in the words of ... leading economist, has a "com...ative advantage in bullshit", with ...st attracted to disciplines that re... the gift of the gab — PR, law, ...rnalism, auctioneering — rather ... manufacturing?

... probably does. For a start, ...ld trade in manufactures is four ...es the size of trade in services, ... country that doesn't make ...gs has to be fantastically good in ...y areas. Second, Britain's inter...onal position is not that wonder... largely due to the extinction of ... merchant shipping fleet and the ...rease in overseas travel, the surplus on services last year was unchanged in current prices from 1979. And Britain's share of world trade in services has been steadily declining since 1960.

One school of thought argues that the preoccupation with manufacturing is a form of inverted snobbery which, in essence, fails to appreciate that the world has changed and the lucrative markets will be in services. "If it does turn out that we are relatively [more] efficient in world terms at providing services than at producing goods, then our national interest lies in a surplus on services and a deficit on goods," the then Chancellor, Nigel Lawson, said a decade ago.

This view was dismissed by Arnold Weinstock, chairman of GEC, who wondered what the service sector would be servicing if there was no manufacturing base.

A decade later, the received wisdom is that Lord Weinstock was over-gloomy and that prospects are rosy for manufacturing and services. Devaluation, the supply-side improvements in the 1980s, the impact of inward investment, or a combination of these, have transformed the outlook for trade, resulting in the current account no longer acting as a constraint on growth.

But suppose for a moment that nothing much has changed. Assume that the effects of devaluation have washed through the system, the value of exports from foreign-owned plants is largely offset by the high import quotient of the goods sold, and the hard evidence of the 1980s reforms remains elusive.

The odds then would be on the current account widening, particularly if consumer spending were let off the leash. The UK tends to suck in more imports in good times than other countries. The potentially disastrous consequences of pumping up consumption before the next election in pursuit of votes are well known to the Bank of England and the Treasury. They think another circuit on the boom-bust rollercoaster would be one too many.

The potential problems have been laid out in a paper by three Cambridge academics, Andy Cosh, Alan Hughes and Bob Rowthorn, for the Commission on Public Policy and British Business, established by the Institute for Public Policy Research.

SO WHAT could go wrong? Not much, provided world trade grows rapidly over the next 10 years, by around 7.5 per cent a year. If that happened, Britain would be able to continue expanding at its long-run post-war trend of around 2.5 per cent without a worsening current account position.

But 7.5 per cent world trade growth is quite an assumption, representing almost a doubling of the performance in the 1980s, even allowing for the promised benefits of the Uruguay round that is pushing it. Instead, the Cambridge paper assumes a more modest, and almost certainly more realistic, 5.5 per cent annual growth in world trade.

From this point, the paper adumbrates three paths for the economy: a base projection; a Super-Serv scenario focused on the expansion of Britain's traditional strength in non-manufactured tradable goods such as financial services, telecommunications and TV; and a Fast-Man option predicated on a larger and more internationally competitive manufacturing sector.

In the base scenario, the tendency of imports to grow more rapidly than exports gradually reasserts itself as the impact of devaluation wears off. With growth of 2.5 per cent a year, manufactured exports would grow by 64 per cent by 2003; the problem is that imports would grow by 71 per cent.

Although financial and miscellaneous services do well in this scenario — exports up 51 per cent against imports growing by just 20 per cent — it is not enough to counteract the decline in manufacturing balance combined with the growing deficit on interest, profits and dividends, one of the three components of the invisible trade balance. The conclusion of the base scenario is that Britain is stuck on a low-growth path, with unemployment remaining at around 2 million.

The Super-Serv scenario illustrates what it would take for the service sector to compensate for the decline of manufacturing. The assumption here is that the trend in manufacturing remains the same as in the base projection, but the volume of financial and miscellaneous services exports doubles.

By 2003, total British exports of services would exceed those of the US and would be double those of Japan. Per head of population, Britain would export five times more F&M services than the US and four times more than Japan.

This might be pushing things. Cosh, Hughes and Rowthorn conclude, taking into account that UK trade in manufactures at £230 million last year was more than eight times the £27 billion trade in financial and miscellaneous services, that "improvements on this scale are quite inconceivable".

The Fast-Man theory assumes an attempt to build up the manufacturing base, with capital investment rising by around 50 per cent from £12 billion to £18 billion a year (or from 2 per cent to 3 per cent of GDP).

How likely is this? Recent figures show that manufacturing investment is at long last beginning to show signs of picking up. The Government's view is that it can best leave things to the private sector to respond positively to the new low-inflation environment.

On this basis, investment allowances or spending on the infrastructure are a waste of money. As opposed, of course, to cutting personal taxation, which has a miraculously beneficial economic impact. In Alicante.

In Brief

RUPERT MURDOCH is seeking allies in a bid for Turner Broadcasting System's Cable News Network, which would make him the most powerful media magnate in the world. Meanwhile, profits of his British media group, News International, more than doubled to £778.7 million in the year to June 30.

CHASE MANHATTAN and Chemical Banking announced a $10 billion merger that will create America's biggest bank with $297 billion in assets. The new company will shed 12,000 out of 75,000 jobs.

HUTCHISON Telecom UK hopes the increasing success of its Orange mobile phone business will allow it to replace project financing from its founder shareholders with a long-term debt by the end of the year.

RUSSIA'S financial markets ground virtually to a halt when a credit crisis at some banks forced the banking system briefly to raise some interest rates as high as 1,000 per cent.

UP TO 30 per cent of women in industrialised countries were subjected to frequent, serious sexual harassment at work, the International Labour Organisation reported.

LITIGATION threats are likely to force accountancy firms conducting audits in the Lloyd's of London insurance market to pay up to £200 million towards the compensation package for the loss-making Names, pushing it through the psychologically crucial £3 billion barrier.

NEWSAGENT and music retailer WH Smith is to shed more than 1,000 jobs, about 4.5 per cent of its workforce, and carry out a boardroom shake-up, after a 7.6 per cent slide in profits to £115.3 million.

MEXICAN, not foreign investors, caused the crash of the peso late last year through a last-minute run on their own currency, the International Monetary Fund reported.

CLASSIFIED

Brilliant star without limit

Subrahmanyan Chandrasekhar

PROFESSOR Subrahmanyan Chandrasekhar, a Nobel Laureate in physics and a theoretical mathematician and astrophysicist armed with extraordinary intellectual power and aesthetic sensibilities, has died of a heart attack, aged 84.

Chandrasekhar, known by scientists throughout the world as "Chandra", shared the 1983 Nobel prize for his quantum mathematical prediction that large stars must undergo gravitational collapse as they burn out, condensing into a form of "degenerate" matter whose density is thousands of times greater than that of the original star.

This hypothesis, formulated in mathematical detail by Chandrasekhar during his long sea voyage to England from India in 1930 and published in 1931 in the Astrophysical Journal of the University of Chicago, explained how the tiny but massive white dwarf stars evolve from their large parent stars. Eventually it pointed the way to the prediction and discovery of quasars and the postulation of black holes.

The hypothesis was greeted with scepticism by pre-war giants of astrophysics on both sides of the Atlantic, including Sir Arthur Eddington.

Chandrasekhar nevertheless showed how, as hydrogen and other elements are consumed through nuclear processes, gravitational collapse is inevitable in stars larger than 1.44 times the mass of the sun. This magic figure of 1.44 (now refined to about 1.2 times the mass of the sun) is known by astronomers and astrophysicists throughout the world as the Chandrasekhar Limit. This was not, however, the limit for Chandra himself. He went on to elucidate in exacting detail what would happen to smaller stars like our own sun.

He calculated that in the smaller main sequence stars, the initial gravitational collapse triggers internal electron pressure which, at some point, will at first balance and then overcome that of gravity. The result is not collapse but rapid expansion and evolution to huge burned-out stars known as red giants, a hypothesis which led Arthur C Clarke to write that, for us, eternity is not white but infra-red.

Chandra's theory of the evolution of small main sequence stars — to red giants after 12 per cent of their mass has been consumed — is known as the Schönberg-Chandrasekhar limit.

Both of Chandra's theories have been fundamental to rapid advances during the past half century in unravelling formerly profound stellar mysteries and advancing interpretation and understanding of the timescales and great complexity of the physics of evolutionary processes in the universe. In a philosophical sense, these were goals already sought by Chandrasekhar when, in 1930 and hallmarked by sheer brilliance, he went as a post-graduate to the Cavendish Laboratory of Trinity College, Cambridge, from Presidency College, University of Madras.

During his Cambridge years Chandrasekhar studied with Niels Bohr in Denmark and with Heisenberg in Germany (1931-32) and, after gaining his doctorates, continued to work at the Cavendish with Dirac and R H Fowler until 1935.

With a post at the University of Chicago and the famous Yerkes Observatory in the offing, he returned to India in 1936 where he married a fellow physicist, Lalitha Doraiswamy, and headed for Chicago.

He never looked back. At Chicago his brilliance and enormous breadth of mind found a response amid horizons which seemed far wider than those of Cambridge. During the second world war, although he worked for the US Department of Defence on ballistics, he turned down an invitation to join the Manhattan Project.

However, Chandrasekhar was a man of arts, letters and peace as well as a giant of science, and it was on this basis that, in 1953 when the pressures of war finally lifted, he became an American citizen.

There is huge pride in India and Pakistan for those who possess the gifts which enable them to attain greatness in science in the West, a pride which reaches deep into the families and communities, which bore and encouraged them. Some, like the late Homi J Bhabha, never leave their country, while some who necessarily live and work abroad much of the time, like the great theoretical physicist Abdus Salam, hold firmly to their family and national ties. Chandrasekhar remained close to India (he was Nehru Memorial Lecturer in 1968) yet, to the dismay of his family and fury of his father, he chose to be and to live as a fully-fledged American.

Chandrasekhar: Nobel Laureate who explored stellar evolution

In American science he burgeoned. Expanding his studies of astrophysics into all aspects of stellar evolution, yet writing and speaking on aesthetics almost as much as on science, he taught at the University of Chicago from 1937, becoming Morton D Hull Distinguished Professor of Theoretical Astrophysics from 1952 to 1985. After retirement, he remained as a professor emeritus and worked every day.

The breadth of Chandra's gifts and his ability to explain complex relationships were evident from the 1950s when the American Academy of Arts and Sciences awarded him their Rumford Medal. Later, in 1975, he gave an open "all university" lecture on Patterns of Creativity which elucidated links between the works of Shakespeare, Newton and Beethoven, a theme which he thought he might expand into a book. Sadly, it was never written. Several others, including the seminal Mathematical Theory Of Black Holes (1983), fired the imagination of the world, and he broadened the base of his writing after retirement.

Generations of students, at first often disheartened by the speed and brilliance of his mathematical perception, held him in awe when they realised that this facet of his gifts concealed his deep dedication to encouraging and helping them. Among his students were Chen Ning Yang and Tsung-Dao Lee, who won the Nobel prize for physics in 1957. Chandra was awarded medals and honorary degrees from major institutions throughout the world. His wife, Lalitha, survives him.

Anthony Tucker

Subrahmanyan Chandrasekhar, astrophysicist, born October 19, 1910; died August 21, 1995

Life told in pictures

Alfred Eisenstaedt

ALFRED EISENSTAEDT, who has died aged 97, was a photographer who followed this century. He was born into a prosperous Jewish family in Dirschau, West Prussia, in 1898, and moved to Berlin in 1906. There he took his first photographs, starting on his 14th birthday when an uncle gave him an Eastman Kodak folding camera and he commenced taking pictures of skaters on Grunewald Lake. Ever a fitness fanatic, he was still taking photographs well into his nineties.

Like so many others (Munkacsi among them), Nazism forced Eisenstaedt to flee to the United States in 1935, where he enrolled with the Pix photo agency. A year later, Life magazine was launched. The first four photographers' names on the masthead were Margaret Bourke-White, Thomas McAvoy, Peter Stackpole — and Alfred Eisenstaedt. The magazine's founder, Henry Luce, was wont to jest that Hitler was his greatest ally: "All I had to do was to sit in New York and wait for them [the Jewish photographers] to land," he said.

From then until its demise in 1972, Eisenstaedt's name became virtually inseparable from that of the magazine. He photographed hundreds of thousands of images, some 2,000 features and nearly 100 covers, and maintained and extended the photo-journalistic tradition of which he was a founding father.

According to Harry N Abrams, Life was, for 35 years, "an institution, a sort of Mecca for photographers all over the world. It did more for the improvement, the advancement, and the acceptance of photography in our daily lives than any other institution."

Eisenstaedt was one of its stars — and behaved like one. Writers accompanying him complained in exasperation of his practised incompetence at purchasing a postage stamp, changing a dollar, washing his socks, calling a cab or ordering a meal. Famous for calling their hotel rooms to enquire what the weather was like outside, one remembered: "He posed so relentlessly that attendant reporters ended up as basket cases, rebels, or reluctant nannies."

Despite assignments the world over, it took until 1979 for Eisenstaedt to return to Germany. He found it dramatically altered, yet chose to recoup some of his earlier subjects, re-photographing the former heavyweight boxing champion Max Schmeling as a suave Coca-Cola executive and Leni Riefenstahl, the film-maker. "I don't see Germany with political eyes," he said. "I see pictures."

In 1980, the New York International Centre for Photography mounted an exhibition of Eisenstaedt's work in Germany. The collection was immediately published and the following year it won the Art Directors' Club 60th Annual Merit Award. The same year he became the first photographer to be invited to document Ronald Reagan's Californian ranch.

Accolades, exhibitions and books continued through the 1980s. In 1985, he defined his work and his tradition with his own book Eisenstaedt On Eisenstaedt. Placing one of his most famous shots of Marlene Dietrich (whom he photographed during the filming of The Blue Angel) firmly on the cover, he closed the book with a double portrait of the film director Rainer Werner Fassbinder with "her successor" Hanna Schygulla on the set of Berlin Alexanderplatz.



Through a lens gently: Alfred Eisenstaedt's famous shot of New Yorkers celebrating VE Day

Like his features, the accompanying captions were used to move the story told by the images along. The style, as ever, was cleanly professional, gingerly humorous, consistently dispassionate and utterly urbane.

Amanda Hopkinson

Alfred Eisenstaedt, photographer, born December 6, 1898; died August 23, 1995

A nose for the company

Lord White of Hull

IN A business world increasingly dominated by colourless automatons wielding calculators and laptops, Lord White of Hull, who has died aged 72, represented a swashbuckling, entrepreneurial strain in finance in which significant decisions were based on instinct rather than Harvard Business School models.

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Alex Brummer

Vincent Gordon Lindsay White, tycoon, born May 11, 1923; died August 23, 1995

CLASSIFIED

Brilliant star without limit

Subrahmanyan Chandrasekhar

PROFESSOR Subrahmanyan Chandrasekhar, a Nobel Laureate in physics and a theoretical mathematician and astrophysicist armed with extraordinary intellectual power and aesthetic sensibilities, has died of a heart attack, aged 84.

Chandrasekhar, known by scientists throughout the world as "Chandra", shared the 1983 Nobel prize for his quantum mathematical prediction that large stars must undergo gravitational collapse as they burn out, condensing into a form of "degenerate" matter whose density is thousands of times greater than that of the original star.

This hypothesis, formulated in mathematical detail by Chandrasekhar during his long sea voyage to England from India in 1930 and published in 1931 in the Astrophysical Journal of the University of Chicago, explained how the tiny but massive white dwarf stars evolve from their large parent stars. Eventually it pointed the way to the prediction and discovery of quasars and the postulation of black holes.

The hypothesis was greeted with scepticism by pre-war giants of astrophysics on both sides of the Atlantic, including Sir Arthur Eddington.

Chandrasekhar nevertheless showed how, as hydrogen and other elements are consumed through nuclear processes, gravitational collapse is inevitable in stars larger than 1.44 times the mass of the sun. This magic figure of 1.44 (now refined to about 1.2 times the mass of the sun) is known by astronomers and astrophysicists throughout the world as the Chandrasekhar Limit. This was not, however, the limit for Chandra himself. He went on to elucidate in exacting detail what would happen to smaller stars like our own sun.

He calculated that in the smaller main sequence stars, the initial gravitational collapse triggers internal electron pressure which, at some point, will at first balance and then overcome that of gravity. The result is not collapse but rapid expansion and evolution to huge burned-out stars known as red giants, a hypothesis which led Arthur C Clarke to write that, for us, eternity is not white but infra-red.

Chandra's theory of the evolution of small main sequence stars — to red giants after 12 per cent of their mass has been consumed — is known as the Schönberg-Chandrasekhar limit.

Both of Chandra's theories have been fundamental to rapid advances during the past half century in unravelling formerly profound stellar mysteries and advancing interpretation and understanding of the timescales and great complexity of the physics of evolutionary processes in the universe. In a philosophical sense, these were goals already sought by Chandrasekhar when, in 1930 and hallmarked by sheer brilliance, he went as a post-graduate to the Cavendish Laboratory of Trinity College, Cambridge, from Presidency College, University of Madras.

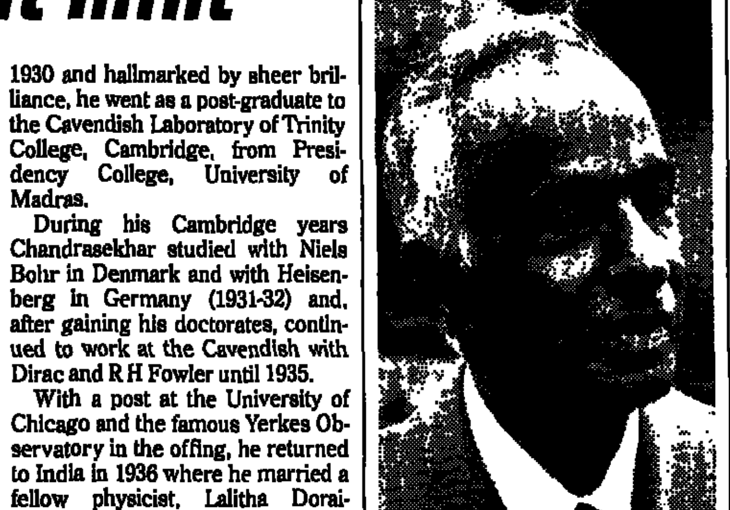
During his Cambridge years Chandrasekhar studied with Niels Bohr in Denmark and with Heisenberg in Germany (1931-32) and, after gaining his doctorates, continued to work at the Cavendish with Dirac and R H Fowler until 1935.

With a post at the University of Chicago and the famous Yerkes Observatory in the offing, he returned to India in 1936 where he married a fellow physicist, Lalitha Doraiswamy, and headed for Chicago.

He never looked back. At Chicago his brilliance and enormous breadth of mind found a response amid horizons which seemed far wider than those of Cambridge. During the second world war, although he worked for the US Department of Defence on ballistics, he turned down an invitation to join the Manhattan Project.

However, Chandrasekhar was a man of arts, letters and peace as well as a giant of science, and it was on this basis that, in 1953 when the pressures of war finally lifted, he became an American citizen.

There is huge pride in India and Pakistan for those who possess the gifts which enable them to attain greatness in science in the West, a pride which reaches deep into the families and communities which bore and encouraged them. Some,



Chandrasekhar: Nobel Laureate who explored stellar evolution

like the late Homi J Bhabha, never leave their country, while some who necessarily live and work abroad much of the time, like the great theoretical physicist Abdus Salam, hold firmly to their family and national ties. Chandrasekhar remained close to India (he was Nehru Memorial Lecturer in 1968) yet, to the dismay of his family and fury of his father, he chose to be and to live as a fully-fledged American.

In American science he burgeoned. Expanding his studies of astrophysics into all aspects of stellar evolution, yet writing and speaking on aesthetics almost as much as on science, he taught at the University of Chicago from 1937, becoming Morton D Hull Distinguished Professor of Theoretical Astrophysics from 1952 to 1985. After retirement, he remained as a professor emeritus and worked every day.

The breadth of Chandra's gifts and his ability to explain complex relationships were evident from the 1950s when the American Academy of Arts and Sciences awarded him their Rumford Medal. Later, in 1975, he gave an open "all university" lecture on Patterns of Creativity which elucidated links between the works of Shakespeare, Newton and Beethoven, a theme which he thought he might expand into a book. Sadly, it was never written. Several others, including the seminal Mathematical Theory Of Black Holes (1983), fired the imagination of the world, and he broadened the base of his writing after retirement.

Generations of students, at first often disheartened by the speed and brilliance of his mathematical perception, held him in awe when they realised that this facet of his gifts concealed his deep dedication to encouraging and helping them. Among his students were Chen Ning Yang and Tsung-Dao Lee, who won the Nobel prize for physics in 1957. Chandra was awarded medals and honorary degrees from major institutions throughout the world. His wife, Lalitha, survives him.

Anthony Tucker

Subrahmanyan Chandrasekhar, astrophysicist, born October 19, 1910; died August 21, 1995

Life told in pictures

Alfred Eisenstaedt

ALFRED EISENSTAEDT, who has died aged 97, was a photographer who followed this century. He was born into a prosperous Jewish family in Dirschau, West Prussia, in 1898, and moved to Berlin in 1906. There he took his first photographs, starting on his 14th birthday when an uncle gave him an Eastman Kodak folding camera and he commenced taking pictures of skaters on Grunewald Lake. Ever a fitness fanatic, he was still taking photographs well into his nineties.

Like so many others (Munkacsi among them), Nazism forced Eisenstaedt to flee to the United States in 1935, where he enrolled with the Pix photo agency. A year later, Life magazine was launched. The first four photographers' names on the masthead were Margaret Bourke-White, Thomas McAvoy, Peter Stackpole — and Alfred Eisenstaedt. The magazine's founder, Henry Luce, was wont to jest that Hitler was his greatest ally: "All I had to do was to sit in New York and wait for them [the Jewish photographers] to land," he said.

From then until its demise in 1972, Eisenstaedt's name became virtually inseparable from that of Life magazine. He photographed hundreds of thousands of images, some 2,000 features and nearly 100 covers, and maintained and extended the photo-journalistic tradition of which he was a founding father.

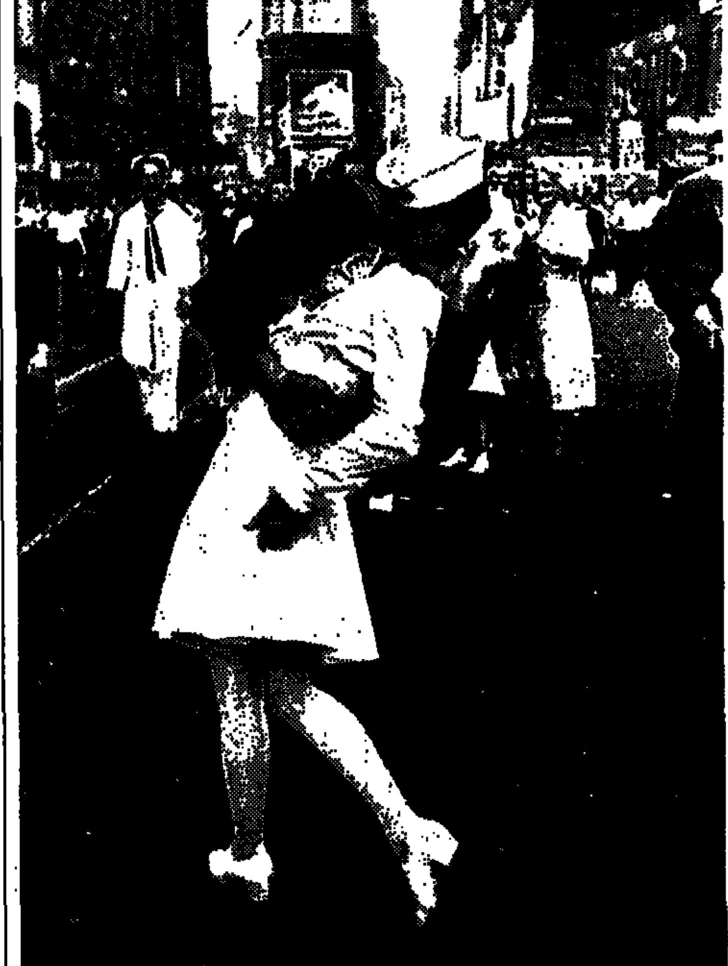
According to Harry N Abrams, Life was, for 35 years, "an institution, a sort of Mecca for photographers all over the world. It did more for the improvement, the advancement, and the acceptance of photography in our daily lives than any other institution."

Eisenstaedt was one of its stars — and behaved like one. Writers accompanying him complained in exasperation of his practised incompetence at purchasing a postage stamp, changing a dollar, washing his socks, calling a cab or ordering a meal. Famous for calling their hotel rooms to enquire what the weather was like outside, one remembered: "He posed so relentlessly that attendant reporters ended up as basket cases, rebels, or reluctant nannies."

Despite assignments the world over, it took until 1979 for Eisenstaedt to return to Germany. He found it dramatically altered, yet chose to recoup some of his earlier subjects, re-photographing the former heavyweight boxing champion Max Schmeling as a suave Coca-Cola executive and Leni Riefenstahl, the film-maker. "I don't see Germany with political eyes," he said. "I see pictures."

In 1980, the New York International Centre for Photography mounted an exhibition of Eisenstaedt's work in Germany. The collection was immediately published and the following year it won the Art Directors' Club 60th Annual Merit Award. The same year he became the first photographer to be invited to document Ronald Reagan's Californian ranch.

Accolades, exhibitions and books continued through the 1980s. In 1985, he defined his work and his tradition with his own book Eisenstaedt On Eisenstaedt. Placing one of his most famous shots of Marlene Dietrich (whom he photographed during the filming of The Blue Angel) firmly on the cover, he



Through a lens gently: Alfred Eisenstaedt's famous shot of New Yorkers celebrating VE Day

closed the book with a double portrait of the film director Rainer Werner Fassbinder with "her successor" Hanna Schygulla on the set of Berlin Alexanderplatz.

Like his features, the accompanying captions were used to move the story told by the images along. The style, as ever, was cleanly professional, gingerly humorous, consistently dispassionate and utterly urbane.

Amanda Hopkinson

Alfred Eisenstaedt, photographer, born December 6, 1898; died August 23, 1995

A nose for the company

Lord White of Hull

IN A business world increasingly dominated by colourless automatons wielding calculators and laptops, Lord White of Hull, who has died aged 72, represented a swashbuckling, entrepreneurial strain in finance in which significant decisions were based on instinct rather than Harvard Business School models.

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Seoul mates

Is it really a wedding to remember or just a rum do? **Madeleine Bunting** on the mass ceremonies in Korea where thousands of virtual strangers tie the knot

WANT TO marry but can't find the right person? How about applying to a Korean minister who will match you with a partner not just for this life but for eternity? A warning: you may not share a common language, you will probably not live in the same country, you will have only a couple of days to get to know each other before you marry and you will most likely have to attend a mass wedding in the Olympic Stadium in Seoul, Korea.

You will arrive with up to 80,000 other brides and grooms in a fleet of coaches, sit in the heat on a plastic seat for several hours for a blessing from a rotund man and his wife and have nothing to eat but a slice of Swiss roll and a can of cola.

Forget the passionate wedding night: couples are expected to wait 40 days after the marriage and then they "seek to put God into their physical relationship by praying together before making love and reading holy words" — according to George Robertson, spokesman for the Unification Church in London who himself had an arranged marriage in 1982.

It may be hard to understand why anyone would opt for such an arrangement but thousands of members of the Unification Church — better known as the "Moonies" — do. Some 35,000 couples tied the knot last week in Seoul. Another 330,000 already married couples of other faiths — Christians, Muslims, Jews — joined in the biggest blessing staged by the church in a ceremony linked by satellite over four continents: 50,000 in Africa, 20,000 in South America, 30,000 in Europe, 50,000 in Japan and so on. About 2,000 signed up for a midnight ceremony in central London; while smaller ceremonies were scheduled for other parts of Britain. It was billed as one of Rev Moon's last mass weddings, which have occurred every three years since 1982 and are probably one of the most effective global publicity stunts ever. Photos of the choreographed brides and grooms appear all over the world, raising the profile of this curious Korean home-brew Christianity. But to the followers of Rev Sun Myung Moon the bizarre ceremony in Seoul is a milestone on a spiritual journey, and part of the process by which world peace will eventually prevail. Once a couple have been blessed, their children will no longer have "fallen natures", or original sin: they can become perfect and these "God-centred families", as the chosen few, will set up the kingdom of Heaven.

Moon claims to be completing the mission of Jesus Christ which was cut short by crucifixion. Jesus should have married and had a family; Moon has done — with a much younger woman — and has 13 children. The Unification Church is an advance on other faiths because it has moved beyond the patriarchal tradition to a model of the family — it is the only church headed by a man and a woman.

Initially, Moon attended big gatherings of hopeful single people, known as "matchings", in New York or Seoul to pair people up — men on one side of the room, women on the other. Now there are too many and applications, with a photo, have to be sent to the headquarters in Seoul where Rev and Mrs Moon spend months matching up couples. The idea is that Moon uses great spiritual insight to find the right partner for each person. "The greatest problems in our world have their root in the breakdown of the family ideal," the church's brochure claims, so all the world's problems can eventually be put right through the "purification and sanctification" of the family.

This may sound like gobbledegook to you but to Belinda Noda, aged 35, from Yorkshire, it is a fervently held belief. Disabled by a car accident a decade ago, Belinda was married at the 1992 blessing to a Japanese carpenter, Mitsua. Both are members of the Unification Church. "The first time someone told me about being matched, I thought 'That makes sense.' I had always thought 'If God would show me the right man, it would cut out all the heartache.' "

George Robertson was married to an Austrian woman at the first mass blessing, in 1982, in Seoul. "I had an enormous sense of pride. I was part of a large group of young people who were turning against the tide of disillusionment and cynicism."



Bless them all . . . Some of the 20,000 couples who were married at the great wed-in in 1992 PHOTOGRAPH: UNIVERSAL/CAMERA PRESS

This idealism sits uncomfortably with the public image of the Unification Church. In the late seventies this was the "cult which breaks up families", in the famous Daily Express headline which prompted a libel trial. The Moonies were variously accused of brainwashing followers, being involved in the armaments industry and planning to take over the country. They have largely faded from view since, reappearing occasionally to provoke a frisson of horror when discovered to be sponsoring academic, religious or political conferences through such front organisations as the Professors' World Peace Academy, the Council of World Religions and the International Cultural Foundation.

Mistakes were made in the early days, Robertson admits. It was predominantly young people who were attracted in the seventies and they were sometimes a little hotheaded and abandoned their studies and their families.

The church in Britain claims 600 members; others put it at half that. Membership worldwide is allegedly half a million but there's a disturbing sloppiness about figures. Robertson talks of this as a "core membership" and then adds in all those who attend their conferences — which would include several Nobel prize winners, Ted Heath and George Bush. Behind the conferences — and a big art funding scheme — seems to be the hope that some of the respectability of the participants will rub off on the Unification Church.

Perhaps this is also w[...] behind this year's bumper [...] By extending the ceremony [...] ples of any faith, participa[...] ten-fold. Robertson says [...] members of the Church of E[...] including "several" clergy [...] Catholics had planned to [...] though he was unable to [...] anyone to be interviewed.

For Joseph and Deborah [...] lon, it was love at first sight [...] Seoul airport, four days befor[...] married in 1992. They now [...] London and have just had a [...] girl. An intense theology [...] Joseph is no longer an active [...] ber of the church. Disil[...] after his conversion in 197[...] he was studying for the C[...] priesthood), he feels the chu[...] not implemented Moon's tea[...] properly. He didn't enjoy the [...] ding ceremony at all bec[...] was too worried about the [...] the church was taking. But [...] is "fantastic". Whatever [...] wrong with the church, Mo[...] the right woman for him, b[...]

O'Hanlon rejected his first [...] ing, in 1981 in Germany. [...] matchings are only "sugg[...] which you can refuse (alt[...] does make any future [...] more difficult, particula[...] women, who considerably [...] ber men in the church).

The Unification Church b[...] divorce rate of only 3-5 per c[...] tainly, Belinda Noda has [...] lighted with her marria[...] couple live in the Yorkshire [...] Pickering with their one-year [...] girls and Belinda says [...] doesn't speak English, altho[...] learning it, and I don't spea[...] ese but language wasn't a pro[...]

The evident happiness of [...] Noda and Joseph O'Han[...] have inspired confidence [...] 70,000 people from aro[...] world who converged on S[...] week for their marriage.

Not all of the matchings [...] successful. But Eileen Bark[...] ciologist at the London S[...] Economics and author of [...] studies on the Unification [...] says that if you really belie[...] marriage has been made in [...] then you have faith it wi[...] "The fact that the couple s[...] certain belief rather than ju[...] ual attraction does help."

Most of us will remain ba[...] the church's brochure. Moo[...] a cross between the head of a [...] ration and a monarch. How c[...] man on the other side of the [...] arrange perfect love matches [...] on nothing more than an appli[...]

Myths behind Microsoft's brave new world

Douglas Adams, author of The Hitchhiker's Guide To The Galaxy, argues that Windows 95 is more hype than hope for the future

WHAT ON Earth is going on? Have we found intelligent life on other planets? Abolished war and famine? Have we even devised a better way of using computers? No. All that's happened is Microsoft has remodelled its operating system so that it's now more like the Macintosh.

As part of last week's billion-dollar festival of smoke and mirrors, chairman and chief executive Bill Gates has apparently paid the Rolling Stones millions for the right to use Start Me Up, the song which is better known for its catchy refrain "You make a grown man cry".

This is a phrase you may hear a lot of over the next few days as millions of people start trying to install Windows 95. Even the best designed systems can be a nightmare to upgrade, but whatever things Microsoft may be famous for good systems design is not, as it happens, one of them.

Let's dispel a few myths. There's one which says that the original PC operating system was a brilliant feat of programming by boy genius Gates. It wasn't brilliant and Gates didn't write it. He acquired it, "shrewdly", from the Seattle Computer Company and then immediately licensed it on to another, larger, outfit called IBM. When the IBM PC was launched into a market which had hitherto been serviced by garage companies named after bits of fruit it carried the imprimatur of a world-renowned name and sold a zillion, making Gates's operating system a world standard. IBM had failed to realise that any fool could make the boxes, but the hand that owned the software ruled the world. Big Blue had given the kid Gates a free ride into the stratosphere and then, astoundingly, found itself starting to fall away like a discarded booster rocket. Sadly, this new world software standard was actually a piece of crap.

MS-DOS, as Gates called it, had started life as QDOS-86, or the Quick & Dirty Operating System, which told you all you needed to know about it. A whole generation of people doggedly learned to run their businesses on a system that was written as a quick lash-up for hobbyists and hackers. Was there anything better around? Of course.

In the 1970s Xerox had funded a team of the world's top computer scientists to research the man/machine interface. They devised a graphical system, using windows, icons and mice. Oddly, Xerox failed to follow this up, and the research was taken up and brought to market by Apple Computer as the Macintosh. After a shaky, underpowered start, this machine matured into a well-integrated system which was not only very powerful, but a real pleasure to use.

The Microsoft line on all this was that windows were for wimps. The truth was that plain old MS-DOS couldn't actually do them. Graphics, mice, networking, and a whole lot else, had to be added to the basic core of QDOS as one afterthought after another, which is why Wintel computers are so fiendishly complicated to set up and maintain.

Gates, however, had always known which way the future lay, and for years Microsoft managed the awkward juggling act of rubbishing Apple's user interface while simultaneously trying to [...] something like it that would [...] top of the bloated clutter th[...] DOS had become.

However, the Macintosh i[...] the last word in interface de[...] and if Microsoft had been the [...] ative company it calls itself, it [...] have taken the opportunity to [...] radical leap beyond the Ma[...] stead of producing a feeble, e[...] imitation.

An awful lot of people who [...] install Windows 95 will end up [...] ing to spend so much money b[...] extra RAM and upgrading [...] peripherals to get features that [...] users have enjoyed for years [...] they might just as well give up [...] buy the real thing.

The idea that Bill Gates ha[...] peared like a knight in shini[...] mour to lead all customers out [...] mire of technological chaos and [...] nores the fact that it was he [...] dling second-rate technology [...] led them into it in the first place.

Unequal struggle

A UN report which calls on countries to count the cost of women's work will set the agenda for the Beijing conference this month, writes **Victoria Brittain**

A *UNITED NATIONS* report challenges governments to revise their national accounts by including unpaid, but tradeable, women's work — whose worth it estimates at $11,000 billion.

"There is an unwitting conspiracy on a global scale to undervalue women's work and contributions to society," says Mahbub ul Huq, the report's main author.

The fifth annual human development report for the UN Development Programme is devoted to women's place in the world economy.

It reveals that two-thirds of women's work and a quarter of men's is unpaid and amounts to 70 per cent of the world's annual global output of $23,000 billion. Women's economic status has been comprehensively researched in more than 80 countries.

The report is likely to make as big an impact at this month's UN women's conference in Beijing as the 1994 human development report did in setting the agenda for the UN social summit earlier this year. Oxfam welcomed the report, saying it was 20 years overdue.

Among its proposals are new national income accounts which, by revealing how much women's work is really worth, will change women's status. "It will shatter male society to see that women are actually the breadwinners and in our societies, where status is determined by economic value, things will change," says Dr ul Huq.

League tables showing the differences in work patterns between men and women show that on average women work 13 per cent more than men. Differences between countries are marked.

In Italy, for instance, women work 28 per cent more, while in Denmark they work 2 per cent less, in rural Kenya they work 35 per cent more, in Nepal 5 per cent more.

Dr ul Huq stresses "equal wages, equal political power, equal opportunities". One immediate proposal is to tackle inequality of credit — only 5 per cent goes to women.

The World Bank has just announced the launch of an international Grameen bank. The Grameen bank in Bangladesh lends money to the poorest women in rural areas to set up small enterprises and has a 95 per cent recovery rate.

For the first time the gaps in opportunities between men and women have been measured. The report's Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) measures women's participation in economic, political and professional activities. Only the Nordic countries pass the critical 30 per cent threshold for women.

Britain, France, Spain and Japan are among the poorest performers for rich countries. Better scores on the GEM index come from Italy, Barbados, Trinidad, Cuba and Hungary.

But there is no society in which women fare as well as men, the report emphasises. Its Gender-related Development Index (GDI) compares literacy, life expectancy and economic data.

Sweden scores best with 0.92 out of a possible score of 1.00. But out of 130 countries, 45 score below 0.5. Most are in Africa, but they also include India, Pakistan, Burma, Nepal and Haiti.

The report was launched in Oslo a fortnight ago by the Norwegian prime minister, Gro Harland Brundtland. She emphasised that Norway's progress towards equality was achieved by legislation and quotas.

Dr ul Huq says: "Aggressive affirmative action has been extremely successful in changing the picture in the Nordic countries."

He hopes that other countries will be pushed by Beijing into taking that road, unfashionable though affirmative action now is, particularly in the United States.

Another aim for Beijing is to persuade the 41 countries which have not signed the 1979 convention on the elimination of discrimination against women to do do; the six, including the United States, which have signed but not ratified, to ratify; and the 43, including Britain, which have ratified it with reservations, to withdraw the reservations.

The report urges the adoption of a 10-year deadline to end legal discrimination against women.

It also proposes, on one of the issues which unites women across the world, that Beijing should declare rape a war crime.

China stories

Anchee Min grew up believing Americans were the enemy. And now she lives among them, writes **Anita Chaudhuri**

IN CHINA, there is a popular belief that a good name leads to a good life. Thus the parents of bestselling author Anchee Min originally christened her "Rising Sun at a Mountain", but this had to be abruptly changed to Jade of Peace — Anchee — after Communist party officials pointed out that Chairman Mao was the only acknowledged sun in China.

Min grew up in Shanghai during the Cultural Revolution, surrounded by improbable names. Her family home was in a decrepit street called South Luxuriant Road, her brother was named Space Conqueror in honour of Mao's call for China to build a spaceship, and her schooldays were spent learning to recite screeds from Mao's Little Red Book at the Long Happiness Elementary School. Her life to date has been extraordinary, and was documented to great acclaim in her first novel, Red Azalea.

In it she chronicles her years first as a model soldier with the Red Guard, then as a worker at a harsh communal farm near the East China Sea, where she had a lesbian affair with her camp commander, then the time when she was chosen by Madam Mao's talent scouts to become a star in the propaganda film industry. After the death of Mao and the downfall of his wife and her political cabal, the Gang of Four, Min was denounced as a "bourgeois individualist". After six years relegated to menial jobs in the film industry, she managed to escape, with the help of actress Joan Chen.

"When I first arrived in America, I was very frightened because I grew up thinking of Americans as the enemy. I remember sitting in my first class at college in Chicago and seeing all these people with blue eyes, and superimposed on them was my training instructor telling us to shoot!" Min says.



Rising sun . . . . novelist Anchee Min PHOTOGRAPH: FRANK MARTIN

To gain entry to the US, she managed to get a place at the Chicago Art Institute but was expelled after they discovered she could not speak English. She was given six months to learn the language, or she would be deported. "I had three jobs plus full-time language school. I didn't know anyone and the most conversation I could make was 'What's the time?' but I survived because it was nothing compared with working on Red Fire Farm. When I thought of that, I felt like Superman."

She took up writing through the college creative writing programme, jotting down her painful experiences of the life she left behind. "It began as a kind of therapy, because I didn't know how else to deal with all the memories."

She showed one of her short stories to Joan Chen, who passed the manuscript to Granta, who later published it. Amy Tan's agent took her up and sold Red Azalea, which went on to top the bestseller lists.

Now she has written a second book, Katherine (Hamish Hamilton, £15.99), a novel about an American teacher working in Shanghai during the 1980s and her friendship with Zebra, a young Chinese woman. The book explores the nature of female friendships and the cultural divides between America and China. It is a powerful account of how political imperatives can have heartbreaking repercussions on ordinary lives.

"Although it's fiction, a lot of the incidents in the book did, unfortunately, happen. For example, I write about a situation where Zebra, the chairman of the workers' union, has to take a Chinese man and an American woman to the hospital in the middle of the night for an examination to prove that they didn't have sex together."

Min draws parallels between the lives of modern middle-class women and the predicament of concubines in ancient times — neither had many choices about their destiny. "We grew up with few choices and were forced to sacrifice our emotions for the good of the party. I see many women in the same position I was. They have determination and dreams but few opportunities. They are unable to make anything of their lives. I think slowly it is changing."

The book also highlights the extent of human rights violations against Chinese women, currently being investigated by the US-based Human Rights in China organisation. It is still not uncommon for women in rural villages to be abducted and forced to marry a land-owner, or be sold into prostitution. Min writes about the high incidence of rape among farm workers and of how women have been encouraged to abandon female babies since the one-child rule was introduced, resulting in an estimated 500,000 "missing" baby girls per year.

"It's not just a government thing, it's a question of educating people. No one is forcing those women to abandon the babies, it's just something they've been conditioned to do." She has applied for permission to address the forthcoming Beijing conference on women but, as yet, she has had no response from the authorities. "That is the Chinese way, to avoid conflict, to do nothing."

She doesn't hold out much hope for what will be achieved for Chinese women at Beijing. "I think it has nothing much to do with Chinese women and because of that they are pretty indifferent to it. We will see," she says with a sigh.

Her own life has been transformed since moving to America. She met a teacher, also from Shanghai, who understood what she'd been through, and they had a daughter, now aged four. "He first encouraged me to enter a writing competition and to my amazement I won. I think that's why I married him." She pauses for effect. "Too bad we're divorced now."

Although her books have been banned in China, she is allowed to go back as often as she wishes. "I'm not sure why they allow it but I suppose the book hasn't been translated. I know a lot of people are interested in me now, ordinary people and people in the media. I am an inspiration to them because my story is the same story as what happened to everyone of my generation. Thousands of people who grew up with the idea that it was acceptable to denounce your mother, father or teachers can identify with my story. I was able to survive, go to America and become a name. That's very encouraging."

SHE ADMITS she considered denouncing her father when she was a child for expressing dubious political opinions. Around a quarter of children denounced their parents during that time. One of the most disturbing passages in Red Azalea is when Min denounces her teacher, Autumn Leaves, in front of her school for being an Imperialist sympathiser. Years later, when she meets Autumn Leaves again by chance, the teacher pretends not to know who she is.

"I find talking about this very difficult," says Min, on the verge of tears. "I have chosen to tell my story but it doesn't make answering questions about it any easier. When people ask me whether I still see my camp commander, Yan, I can't handle it. I can't locate her now. I tried to contact her a few years ago but she didn't want to see me. She thinks that in my eyes she's a failure. She doesn't realise that I've changed, I'm educated and I still see her as a hero."

To date, Min has been marketed as a lesbian campaigner and as one of a group of sharp female Chinese writers to emerge in recent years, along with Jung Chang, author of Wild Swans, and Amy Tan. She rejects the idea that she is a lesbian, despite having written a deeply erotic account of her first love affair with a woman. "If Yan had been a man, I would still have had sex with him. It wasn't a question of being a lesbian, but of falling in love with another human being."

As for the question of why all the strongest voices coming out of China today seem to be female, she gives full credit to Madam Mao. "Communism gave us the idea of female heroism in a very vivid form. I grew up listening to Madam Mao's operas over and over again, and there was always a powerful woman on the brink of conquering the world. That is the only positive thing that came out of the Cultural Revolution."

Doves, pigeons and innovations

Ralph Whitlock

DID YOU notice an anomaly in the article entitled "Were the experts mistaken?" (April 16)? Dr John Capon, writing in 1933 when he was 17 and holidaying with a Norfolk vicar, states:

"I remember that these mucky little doves, as they were affectionately known, were so common that they sat in the trees, waiting for the chickens to be fed. They then descended on the grain. I built a hide and shot 20 of them one morning. They just looked around as their neighbours fell out of the trees, as if to say, 'That's funny!'"

The anomaly is that John Capon thought nothing of shooting 20 of the doves in a single morning. Now, 60 years later, I very much doubt whether he would dream of committing such a massacre. Collared doves have become such a familiar feature of both town and village that they are mostly regarded as domestic poultry. We see them perched on every electricity pole and telephone post, greeting with their cooing the passing cars and descending to patronise the garden bird tables. Such is a measure of the civilising influence of 60 years of nature protection.

Now, in the past 10 or 15 years, I have noticed a similar tolerance of the wood-pigeon. Wood-pigeons descend on the food I put out for birds every morning and pay little attention to my wife and myself. Sixty years ago they would have taken flight the moment we appeared. And with reason, for the appearance of a man implied that he carried a gun, which meant death. It was only in town parks that wood-pigeons were safe.

And that was reasonable, for 60 years ago we were back in an age when anything larger than a thrush represented something for the pot, a bit of meat to add to the stew. Today pigeons are shot by young farmers seeking target practice, or by farmers protecting fields of kale, though even that is generally unnecessary, for pigeon-damaged greens usually recover completely when spring comes.

A new idea in weed control is undergoing trials on a Bedfordshire farm. The general procedure is "blanket" spraying, which means spraying the whole field, but this new device enables the farmer to concentrate the spray on the weed patches. Persistent weeds, such as field bindweed, creeping thistle and couch-grass, tend to occupy the same area of a field year after year, and any technique which can enable the spray-operator to spray only the weed patches can save the farmer a mint of money. At the same time Massey-Ferguson have been perfecting a meter which measures yields and records on a map the location in a field of an infestation of weeds. These maps show enormous variations in yield, mostly caused by weeds, even though inputs of seed, fertilisers and sprays have been applied uniformly over the whole area.

An American scientist has been working on a breed of chicken which is kinder and gentler than the average, which often develop a vicious pecking order under artificial light. He has based his experiments on high egg production, but found that the winners produced more eggs because they got along better with their neighbours!

And from Japan comes an idea for herding cows to music. A loudspeaker, audible 600ft away, is placed in the cows' manger. Now, when it is feeding time, the loudspeaker is switched on, and the cows come running!

Chess Leonard Barden

SOME chess openings acquire their names from those who have discovered or popularised the critical moves. The Benko Gambit 1 d4 Nf6 2 c4 c5 3 d5 b5, the Grunfeld 1 d4 Nf6 2 c4 g6 3 Nc3 d5 and the Fischer Defence 1 e4 e5 2 f4 exf4 3 Nf3 d6 all have blue-blooded pedigrees.

Others are more obscure. You could probably guess that the Cambridge Springs variation was played in the 1904 grandmaster tournament in a US township, but few would realise that the Orang-Utang 1 b4 was played and named by Dr Tartakover after his visit to the zoo during the New York 1924 tournament.

Now there is an opening that has been named after a block of flats. The "Clarendon Court" has the moves 1 d4 c5 2 d5 f5, and GM Jonathan Levitt, who has advocated it, lives in Clarendon Court, Finchley. It made its mark at the British Championship in Swansea where it demolished the No 2 seed.

Mark Hebden-Aaron Summerscale

1 d4 c5 2 d5 f5 3 Nc3 Nf6 4 g3 This approach treats the CC as a variant of the Dutch Defence 1 d4 f5. 4 Bg5? Qb6! 5 Qd2 h6 6 Bxf6 Qxf6 7 e4 g5 would concede Black too much activity.

g6 5 Bg2 d6 6 Nh3 Na6 7 0-0 Bg7 8 a4 0-0 9 Nb5?! White has more space and possible targets in Black's ambitious pawn front, so the logical plan seems 9 Re1 aiming for a timely e2-e4 and pressure on e6 and e7. Exchanging pieces, as in the game, helps Black.

Nc7 10 Nf4 a6 11 Nxc7 Qxc7 12 a5 Rb8 13 c4 Better 13 c3. Ng4! 14 Qc2 b5 15 axb6 Qxb6 16 Nd3 Qb3 17 Qxb3 Rxb3 Now the CC shows its strong side: Black has the typical Q-side activity from a Benko or King's Indian, with the f5 pawn a useful bonus which stops White rolling central pawns by e4, f4 and e5.

18 Bg5 Kf7 19 Ra3 Rxa3 20 bxa3 a5 Already White is lost, since he can't prevent Ba6, Rb8, and a mop-up of his Q-side pawns.

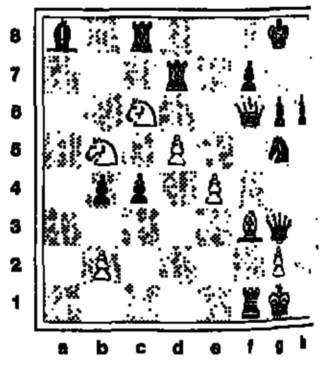
21 e4 fxe4 22 Bxe4 Ba6 23 Rc1 Rb8 24 Bf3 Ne5 25 Nxe5 Bxe5 26 Bg4 Rb3 27 Be6+ Kf8 28 f4 Bb2 29 Rc2 Bxa3 30 Bh6+ Ke8 31 Bg7 Rb1+ 32 Kg2 Rc1 33 Rf2 Bxc4 34 f5 gxf5 35 Rxf5 Kd8 36 g4 Rc2+ 37 Kg3 Bb2 38 Bxb2 Rxb2 39 Rf8+ Kc7 40 Ra8 Rd2 41 Resigns.

Another rare visitor at Swansea was 1 d4 d5 2 c4 Bf5. This sequence used to be anonymous, mostly used by beginners who didn't know you should develop knights before bishops. Now it is the "Baltic Defence" in honour of Keres, a great Estonian master, and of Rausis, an unknown Latvian who plays it frequently. GM Sadler was ready, and by move 11 Black's opening could already have been named the Titanic Defence.

Matthew Sadler-Mark Condie

1 d4 d5 2 c4 Bf5 3 cxd5 Bxb1 4 Qa4+ c6 5 Rxb1 Qxd5 6 Nf3 Nf6 7 e3 Nbd7 8 b4 e5 9 dxe5 Nxe5 10 Nxe5 Qxe5 11 b5 Rd8 12 Be2 Bd6 13 bxc6 0-0 14 cxb7 Bb8 15 Bb2 Qf5 16 0-0 Ne4 17 Rbd1 Nd2 18 Rfe1 h5 19 [illegible] Ne4 20 Bf3 Ng5 21 Bxf8 Nxf3+ 22 gxf3 Qh3 23 Bd6 Rxd6 24 Qe8+ Kh7 25 Qxb8 Resigns.

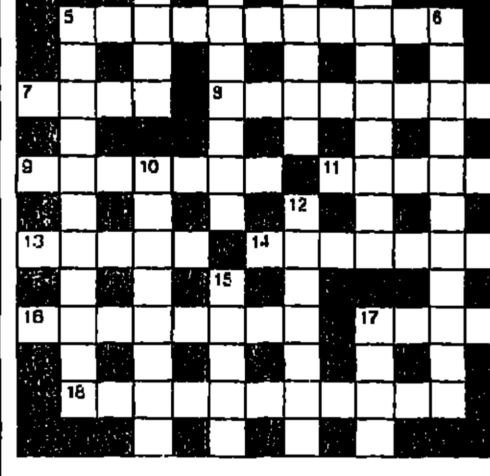
No 2385



Zsuzsa Polgar v Boris Spassky, Women v Veterans, Prague 1995. A rare glimpse of vintage Spassky: how did Black (to move) win quickly?

No 2384: Ke1-d2, e1Bxf2, Be1, [illegible] f1B, Bd3, Ke2-f1, 10 Bxd3 mate.

Quick crossword no. 277



Across

5 Hand tool — cocktail (11)
7 Immediately following (4)
8 Obvious (8)
9 Went off course (7)
11 Gland secreting bile (5)
13 Card game, fireside implement (5)
14 Feverish (7)
16 French stick loaf (8)
17 Team — arrogance (4)
18 Safe (3,2,6)

Down

1 Worry — which the guitarist will use? (4)
2 Heavy jersey (7)
3 Hang in folds (5)
4 Extreme dislike (8)
5 Plant yielding edible yellow tubers (5,6)
6 Item of photographic equipment (5,6)
10 Sufficient (8)
12 US expressway (7)
15 Formal — body? (5)
17 Symbol (4)

Last week's solution

PASS SLOWDOWN
R E I A R O
BACH STALWART
S U U T L L E
STRIPTEASE
I I T R T A G
NOTION BRUTAL
G Y N E E R A
BOISTEROUS
D A G G T O S
APPROVAL LIKE
T S O P T Y
ABERDEEN TYPE

Bridge Zia Mahmood

I RECENTLY described a deal on which Jaggy Shivdasani successfully led the two of spades from a holding of ♠AKQJ109832 against a slam contract in the World Pairs final. Stephen Duffy of London wrote to ask whether I really considered this an example of fine play — as it happened, the defence could defeat the contract without the risk that Jaggy took, and if his partner had not held the vital seven of spades, Jaggy would have looked very foolish. But whether or not the play worked, it was a daring and imaginative shot — and believe it or not, Jaggy had the chance to repeat the play a few deals later in the very same session of the World Championship. This was Jaggy's hand:

♠None ♥6 ♦AKQ103 ♣10987632

This was the bidding at game all:

South	West Jaggy	North	East
4♥	4NT (1)	6♥	No
No	No		

(1) Showing both minors, the "unusual no trump".

Jaggy, trusting that his genie had not deserted him, led the three of diamonds and this was the full deal:

North
♠ A109652
♥ K43
♦ 9
♣ AJ4

West
♠ None
♥ 6
♦ AKQ103
♣ 10987632

East
♠ J8743
♥ 85
♦ J75
♣ KQ5

South
♠ KQ
♥ AQJ10972
♦ 8642
♣ None

East, Sanatu Ghose, once again came up with the goods. He produced the jack of diamonds at the first trick, he returned a spade for Jaggy to ruff, and the Indian magician had worked another miracle. This time, no other defence could possibly have succeeded.

One of my favourite stories concerns the great Adam "Plum" Meredith, who was playing rubber bridge one day against a pair with a considerable reputation for gamesmanship and sharp practice. It was generally agreed that the best approach when playing against these particular opponents was to fix them before they fixed you! Meredith's partner was a renowned French star who found himself on lead against a contract of six spades with a void in hearts and a club suit of ♣AKQJ10862. In approved fashion, he led the two of clubs to put Meredith in for a heart return. Plum duly gathered in the first club trick and returned a heart, ruffed by the Frenchman who seemed to feel that a word of praise was in order from his partner. But Meredith said nothing, and the rubber was concluded in an atmosphere of Gallic *froideur*.

After the game was over and the opponents had departed, the French champion could contain himself no longer. "Don't you think you might have congratulated me on my lead of a low club?" he demanded. "Not really," said Plum. "You see, this was the club position:

♣975
♣AKQJ10862 ♣4
♣3

"Against anyone else, I would have let them make their slam with an overtrick. But against those two, I thought I did pretty well to win the first trick!"

GUARDIAN WEEKLY September 3 1995

Clearing up in Bermuda after Hurricane Felix PHOTO: STEPHAN SAVOIA

Letter from Bermuda Elizabeth Jones

Divine intervention

IT WAS a severe storm in 1609 that set in motion Bermuda's destiny as a British colony and that eventually gave rise to our motto, *Quo Fata Ferunt*. Once again Bermuda's future has been affected by a storm. August 15 was the original date set for a referendum determining whether or not Bermuda should become independent of Britain. However, Hurricane Felix, which narrowly missed the island at nine the previous night and whose fierce winds wreaked havoc well into the early hours of the morning, put an end to that and caused chaos in more ways than one.

Partial damage to the wall of the causeway which connects St George's and St David's with the rest of Bermuda, blocked roads and broken power lines meant that for many residents attending the polling stations was impossible. Most of us were too busy assessing damage to our houses and boats and hoping that electricity would be restored as quickly as possible to give much thought to the referendum.

For the civil service and the politicians, though, the storm meant legal and political confusion. They spent the 15th disagreeing on whether the referendum should be postponed indefinitely or held the following day. After legal and political wrangling it was eventually decided that the polls would open on the morning of the 16th.

And open they did. Fifty-eight per cent of the electorate calmly turned out to the polling stations and 73 per cent of them voted against independence. As a result, Sir John Swan, leader of the ruling United Bermuda Party (UBP) resigned.

What does this all mean? I can't help thinking that the whole issue smacks of Shakespeare. The Tempest after all was apparently inspired by a contemporary's account of the storm that forced Sir George Somers to land on Bermuda's shores in 1609. In any case, an ill wind blows through many of his plays, often indicating the possibility of divine disapproval.

A Bermudian senior citizen I met while frantically searching for D batteries in a supermarket might have had this in mind when he said: "The good Lord is watching over us." At first I thought he was referring to the fact that though the storm cost us billions in lost revenue, it did not cost us one life or casualty. But no, he meant: "The good Lord does not want us to have independence."

Mr Frederick Wade, leader of the opposition Progressive Labour Party, might not have agreed with his conclusion but he too saw Hurricane Felix as possible heavenly intervention. According to the daily Royal Gazette, he was quoted as saying: "Even God doesn't want a referendum."

During the course of the election I half expected a total eclipse of the sun or a lioness to whelp in the street. Neither event happened but three days later Hurricane Felix returned. Now, I ask you, what hurricane moves *south?* This one did, teasing the island with strong gales and torrential rain. "Huh," said the cashier at the check-out in the supermarket when I was yet again searching for D batteries. "See? God wants us to be independent."

WILL THE topic of independence, like the storm, come back to haunt us? Perhaps. Even without the advent of Hurricane Felix, it has been confusing enough. Although many PLP members are fervently against British colonialism, Mr Wade asked them to abstain from voting on the grounds that a referendum should not be the means of achieving independence.

The fact is that he didn't want Sir John as Bermuda's first prime minister, and neither did his supporters. As for the UBP, it has not been as united as its name suggests. Some ministers felt that independence would mean certain economic ruin and were alienated by Sir John's passionate insistence that Bermuda is ready to stand alone. Others were supportive and are now disappointed by the result. Once again, The Tempest could be apposite: "We split, we split!" Should the PLP win the next general election — which could be in as little as 18 months — the matter could be raised again. True, Mr Wade has promised that he will not include independence in his election platform but as one truck driver told me, "This ain't over yet."

In the meantime, one thing's for certain. Like Prospero, Sir John Swan has broken his staff.

Doctor to the rescue

Tony Redmond has spent 20 years dealing with the world's disasters. He is currently in Sarajevo. **Robin Eggar** reports

IN MAY 1994, Tony Redmond secured £2 million of funding from the Overseas Development Administration to set up Operation Phoenix. During eight months of a fragile ceasefire he took teams of senior NHS doctors and nurses into besieged Sarajevo to treat the victims of war and to help restore some vestige of a public health service. As the hostilities slowly escalated, indiscriminate shelling returned and Serb snipers once again shot women in the back as they washed their kitchen floor, Phoenix became harder to sustain. When Sarajevo airport was closed it became impossible to continue.

It was not, however, the end of the story. Redmond, who is currently back in Sarajevo, has not given up. He never does. He has spent the best part of his 20-year career trying to establish the best possible medical support to cope with disasters and emergencies both at home and abroad.

Tony Redmond, aged 43, looks like the cliché of a sixties folk singer — a chunky, bespectacled Mancunian with a beard that appears to possess a life of its own. He has been driven by a compulsion to prove himself that probably began when he was the first member of his working-class family to go to university.

Perpetually balancing being an academic with getting his hands bloody, he is currently Professor of Emergency and Disaster Medicine at Keele University and a consultant on the Emergency Unit at North Staffordshire Hospital in Stoke on Trent.

In 1987, he set up the South Manchester Accident Rescue Team where volunteer teams of doctors and nurses assisted the emergency services at disaster sites. His team have helped revive victims halfway down a collapsed tunnel, and operated on a man impaled on the central reservation of a motorway. The following year he went out to the scene of the Armenian earthquake.

"I had never seen such an overwhelming number of dead people, coffins and bodies. It made me determined that this could be done better," he says. "Internationally many others thought that. It was a watershed and is looked upon as Day One of the new era of disaster management."

He had scarcely unpacked his bags back home when his team were scrambled to the scene of Lockerbie. "It was harrowing, in some ways worse than Armenia," he shudders at the memory. "The only disaster I've ever been to which gave me nightmares, the way people hung across fences like washing on a line, thrown over suitcases and Christmas presents."

HE HAS no truck with those who criticise humanitarian aid as patronising, a panacea for post-colonial guilt. "I've always found that people trapped under rubble are not really interested in whether you are patronising them or not. If they are in pain, or need their little ones rescuing, people aren't that bothered about your personal motives."

For Redmond there is no difference between natural disasters and the man-made hell in former Yugoslavia. Most of the victims are still innocent civilians. He has been on innumerable fact-finding missions. His first trip into Sarajevo was on the Italian cargo plane that was shot down three weeks later. By the time he was back in London the ODA had £2 million of basic medical supplies on its way out. He visited Serbia, Macedonia and Kosovo to report on hardship there but somehow it was always Sarajevo that drew him back. He spent Christmas 1992 working in hospital emergency rooms which were themselves under constant fire.

In 1993, he supervised "Operation Irma", evacuating seriously ill children from Sarajevo. Later, he did the same with the children of Mostar. But it was not until the ceasefire of May '94 with aid pouring in under the joint UK-US initiative that he could finally put his plans into action.

"In Sarajevo there's no shortage of junior doctors," he says. "What they need is senior experienced medics because over half of their own have either been killed or escaped the city."

He tried to get things back to a semblance of normality; bringing in dental supplies, books as the libraries had been burnt out, specialist cancer drugs for conditions that had gone untreated for two years, even photocopiers — "you can't run a public health service without one".

Most aid programmes recruit doctors for at least six months, which precludes experienced senior specialists working within the NHS. They can be seconded for periods up to a month, which until now has been considered useless in an emergency situation. With Phoenix, however, Redmond established a programme within which volunteers could come and go without losing the basic impetus.

"There is an enormous wealth of untapped altruism within the NHS. There is a spark of Dr Finlay and Albert Schweitzer in everybody but people get embarrassed," says Redmond.

Others might have given up long ago, bitter at those who kill and maim their former neighbours.

"No I don't hate them, I get mystified, sad and very confused. I get angry and frustrated," he says. "We are all human beings and we tend to hide behind movements, governments, abstract non-human things in an effort to hide us from the responsibility of our own actions. When I think of Sarajevo I don't think of the snipers shooting people cleaning their kitchen floor I think of the wonderful people in the hospitals, patients I treated, the kindness I have been shown."

Notes & Queries Joseph Harker

MY TV has 100 programmable channels. I use seven. What are the other 93 for?

RUPERT MURDOCH. — Glyn Brown, Mapperley, Nottingham

I ACQUIRED a lapel badge with the words "Anti German Union 1915, Britain for the British. Good Queen Bess Expelled All Germans 1597". What is/was the Anti German Union? And why did Elizabeth I wish to rid the country of Germans?

THE Anti German Union was dedicated to excluding German- and Austrian-born stockbrokers from membership of the London Stock Exchange between 1915 and 1918. Under pressure from the Union, the Committee of the Stock Exchange refused to re-elect some 50 or so stockbrokers on these lines.

In a speech to the Committee in 1916, Gilbert Johnstone, chairman of the Stock Exchange, called for "the exclusion of all members of enemy birth, with some possible exceptions in cases where the members concerned could be proved to be of undoubted loyalty".

Hugo Weinberger, who emigrated to England in 1887, became a naturalised British citizen in 1892 and was a member of the Stock Exchange from 1895 until 1917, when his re-election was blocked. Despite having married an Englishwoman, with four English-educated children all doing patriotic war duty, Weinberger did not "prove to be of undoubted loyalty". The courts up to and including the House of Lords rejected Weinberger's appeal against the Committee's decision. (Weinberger v Inglis [1918] 1 Ch 517, [1919] AC 606) — *(Prof) Harry Rajak, Centre for Legal Studies, University of Sussex, Brighton*

ARE THE varieties of snail commonly found in British gardens suitable for human consumption?

THAT DEPENDS upon the garden and the human. Perhaps some Francophiles could do so without difficulty. Greens will eschew all snails save those from certified organic gardens. Tories for the most part will consider snail eating an assault on British sovereignty. Liberal Democrats will wait until someone they know eats one first. Scottish Nationalists will eat them out of loyalty to Eurocentrism and the Auld Alliance. Labourites will ask: "What's a garden?" Sun readers should have no problem as they'll swallow anything. — *Ed Margerum, Massachusetts, USA*

Any answers?

WHERE does the term "blowing a raspberry" come from? — *Lizzy Rogers, Birmingham*

I UNDERSTAND that under the Vichy regime in France, the game of Rugby League (but not Rugby Union) was outlawed. Why? — *D B Newall, Bolton, Lancs*

DO BIRDS ever suffer from fear of heights? — *K Richards, London*

Answers should be e-mailed to weekly@guardian.co.uk, faxed to 0171/44171-242-0985, or posted to The Guardian Weekly, 75 Farringdon Road, London EC1M 3HQ.



A scene from Cold Lazarus, starring Tara Woodward

Last will and testament

When Dennis Potter died, he insisted his final two works be shared by the BBC and Channel 4. **Peter Lennon** sees how they are facing up to the challenges

INTERIOR: Cryogenic Lab. Year 2368AD. More and more discernible, and hideously upsetting, a HEAD seems to float in liquid nitrogen . . . the severed, part-thawed, electronically transmitted head of Daniel Feeld. The eyes are open, full of TERROR. The mouth seems to be trying to make word-shapes . . . trying to scream the ultimate terror of a mortal soul made immortal.
DANIEL (near-scream): "No biography!"

THIS is a key scene from Dennis Potter's last work, Cold Lazarus, a characteristic example of his sardonic drollery. Someone is after Daniel's (Dennis's) mind and memory and Daniel/Dennis doesn't like it.

In Cold Lazarus, the writer hero of Karaoke, the penultimate Potter play, is having his deep-frozen head prodded by scientists in the year 2368. Meanwhile, Siltz, a satellite TV tycoon (transparently a Rupert Murdoch figure), plans to purloin the head and memory, realising that access to the lifestyle and mentality of the ancient past would make sensational prime-time viewing. After the bizarre — and banned on TV — Brimstone And Treacle (1976), in which the Devil rapes a mentally disabled girl, Cold Lazarus will probably stand as Potter's most disconcerting invention, reinforcing his reputation as a writer of originality and ferocious commitment.

But he once told me that his work was "more helplessly, more haplessly autobiographical" than he often intended. This was true certainly of The Singing Detective, in which an author of trashy forties thrillers (Potter relished self-mockery) slops around among his tormenting and tender memories while in a hospital bed suffering from psoriasis. This is the "leprosy" (family tradition had it that his grand-uncle was a leper) that Potter suffered periodically from the age of 26.

No man was ever more seasoned to withstand a death sentence than Potter when he was told that the additional pain he had been enduring for months was an inoperable cancer of the pancreas, with a secondary cancer in the liver. It was February 14 when he got the news: "A little Valentine kiss," he called it.

His response was to set out with passion to meet a deadline. For once the term had its full, fatal resonance. With three months to live, he intended to produce a major work.

Potter was the writer who more than any other made television his missionary patch. In his last months he was driven by a vocation to an industry deficient in spiritually driven acolytes and by a sense of wanting to tell people "what they ought to know". A director who found Potter's work distasteful told me: "He'd really like to be Jesus, but he doesn't think he's up to it. He doesn't think Jesus was up to it either."

He began to meet his own schedule of 10 pages a day. He was always an incredibly fast writer but tried to hide it. "He was afraid the currency would be cheapened by it coming so easy," Kenith Trodd, his long-time producer, said. "He used to disguise it even from me. He'd say; 'I'll start work on Monday,' then wait two weeks before sending the material."

Astoundingly in those four months (he won a couple of bonus weeks before dying in June last year) Potter not only totally reworked Karaoke, which had reached its delivery date for the BBC, but also produced another four-part TV serial in Lazarus.

These scripts are not just chunks of dialogue hastily thrown together, but intricate plots in which every camera angle, every reaction shot is recorded. Character is established by precisely described body language and even changes of expression. Karaoke's theme is that "the story of our lives is sort of already made up for us". The writer (played by Albert Finney), facing a death sentence, helplessly sees his own fictional story being carried out in real life. In Cold Lazarus, Potter deals with a world without government, run by corporations grabbing for the writer's brain.

Potter had one last grandiose and slightly mischievous ambition: he would oblige the BBC and Channel 4 to unite to produce his last works. In his celebrated TV interview with Melvyn Bragg in April last year, Potter sprang that commanding last request: that the cultural rivals, BBC and Channel 4, should screen each other's serials. He named the two TV bosses who should join hands: Alan Yentob and Michael Grade.

Potter seemed to be demonstrating to the world, and particularly to Murdoch (he called his cancer "Rupert"), that an honest man could, if only because he was dying, also control the policy of two channels. It was a gesture which was both a rebuke to shallow rivalries and an assertion of the power of the artist.

A complex man, Potter acknowledged a variety of motivations in himself, honourable and disreputable. When telling of how the "reeking injustice" of the class system outraged him when he went up to Oxford University, he said he felt he had "an obligation to declare his origins" and wrote his father's occupation in capitals: MINER. "There must have been an element of phoneyness in it," he admitted.

Passionate, sometimes bullying, he had a fierce sense of grievance. It once resulted in a prolonged falling out with Kenith Trodd, who had prevented him from directing The Singing Detective (a wise move given the mess Potter made of Black Eyes). But dramatic reconciliations were also typical of Potter.

He consciously exacerbated a central problem for the serials: who should direct them? His choice was Renny Rye, director of Lipstick On Your Collar. Trodd, as producer, refused to accept Rye.

Potter could be mischievous; his way perhaps of diverting his mind from ceaseless physical combats. Early in the dispute he invited Trodd to his flat in Clipstone Street, off Oxford Street, where only a few intimate friends were invited. Rye was there. Potter said: "Renny, you should know Ken thinks you are a complete duffer as a choice of director." If the intention was to embarrass them into abandoning their feud, it worked. Temporarily. The two left together for the wine bar below Potter's flat and drank themselves into a kind of friendship.

But Trodd's professional judgment did not change. On one of the last days Potter spent with him, Potter said: "Ken, if you persist in raising that matter I won't be able to die happy." Yet after Potter's death, Trodd went into almost suicidal confrontation with Potter's estate — essentially Potter's daughter, Sarah, and his agent, Judy Daish. He insisted that Potter's dying wish should be ignored and at least one of the serials be given to another director.

The row became poisonous. Friends say that Daish, Potter's close friend, was convinced at one point that Trodd, a particularly bolshy operator, was doing this out of spite, to get his own back on Potter because of falling out over The Singing Detective. Trodd said this is nonsense. "But why," I asked him, "did you persist, disastrously after Potter's death in going against the family's wishes?" "They are not in the business," he said. "It is not their job to know. If you have that professional conviction; if you believe in the work and that the work is very precious and important, you must take that stand."

It is true that Trodd worked, stormily, with Potter from the earliest days. He was a contemporary at Oxford and was involved in the best work. Rye, on the other hand, is associated with two of Potter's less appreciated works, Lipstick On Your Collar and Midnight Movie. A judgment based on these works alone would be unfair.

Trodd finally gave in. There was a dangerous period of months of indecision by both channels until Potter's company, Whistling Gypsy Productions, had to say it was now or never. Yentob and Grade overruled the anxieties of the accountants and gave the go-ahead.

Now all the protagonists were gathered, as if in obedience to a summons by Potter, in his beloved Forest of Dean, pallbearers for his last work. They were shooting a 1950s dance-hall scene, a flash-back from Cold Lazarus (Karaoke had been shot but not finally edited).

We were at Ross on Wye, in the heart of that area where much of Potter's best work is based — Pennies From Heaven, Blue Remembered Hills, The Singing Detective.



Potter: still cracking jokes in the face of death

The dance was in a miners' club. The girls in taffeta dresses sat at tables around a doleful, empty, dancing space waiting for the Brylcreemed fellas over at the bar to get moving. The girls were trying to look sophisticated, the billowing dresses giving a fastidious air to their movements as they reached out beyond the loop of their skirts to tap the ash carefully off their cigarettes. One youth swaggered over and introduced a girl (Tara Woodward) to young Daniel, home from Oxford. Dance-hall love is in the air as a suave vocalist mimes Smoke Gets In Your Eyes.

Potter's script indicates that the scene should be shot from behind Daniel. This could be interpreted as a subjective view and Rye was ... ing the risk of shooting the sequence subjectively from ... point of view, so that we would ... see him here. Some were ... about this liberty and it seems ... compromise had to be reached ... which the scene was shot both ... jectively and objectively, defe... decisions to the cutting room.

Were they under a kind of ... blackmail to follow precisely ... dead author's directions? After ... Potter had boxed them in with ... tailed shooting script. "Yes, he ... shooting script with direction ... tails," Rye said, "to give ... strongest possible indication ... he saw it and wanted it to be. ... detailed instructions I follow, ... don't. He did not want any ... tional dialogue, of course, and ... to shoot all the dialogue as he ... it. I hope I know what he wanted ... to do. I worked so closely with ... for the past few years I wo... one of those most likely to ... Script changes are vetted by the ... tate. So far, it has not complain...

FOR ONCE, none of ... rivalries affected the s... ule. At that stage at ... coming to the end of location ... ing, they were only one hour b... In those sluggish hours of ... fragmented work, which is the ... film-making proceeds, people ... constantly coming up with ... about working with a dying man ...

Potter was, as he put it, ... with a heightened feeling of ... "now-ness" of things: "Life can ... be defined in the present tense" ... spoke of the serenity this ... gave him, the reassurance ... typically: "Not that I am inter... in reassuring people. Bugger ..."

If there was turmoil and ... rity, it was among friends and ... leagues. Rye told how ... phoned him one night to say he ... only a few months to live ... talked for 40 minutes, not letting ... get in edgeways. I remember ... would almost script important ... ments. So I said: 'You scripted ...' And he said: 'Yes, I knew if I let ... talk, it would become sentime... So I put in jokes'."

It seems that a couple of pe... had started weeping on the ... and Potter said he would not s... to them again. Once, when Tr... was on the phone to Potter, a c... league tried to tell him some... but Trodd waved him away. ... man was trying to tell him that ... Smith had died. "On impu... Trodd said, "I rang Potter back ... said, 'Congratulations, you have ... lived the leader of the Lab... Party!' It could have been a ghas... mistake but it gave him a boost ... was the sort of tastelessness wh... was somehow liberating."

These were the games peo... were playing as they tried to c... with a friend living the most e... treme of experiences: with a c... view of his own destruction. Potter's ... jaunty, sardonic attitude may ha... been as much a mask for terror ... he had said his arrogance had be... a cloak for his shyness.

When one reads his futurist... script, there is a sense that he w... operating on a future level, in wh... time has run out. His coolness ... concerted some to the point ... they began to feel that what ... about to happen would not. "But ... are looking so healthy!" Trodd ... stupidly one day.

Potter was still able to play ... games. He felt able to risk squa... ing the little energy left to pay off ... old score against his director. ... During Lipstick On Your Coll...

Continued on page 27

...ast will and ...estament

...tinued from page 26

...e had dared to drop a song with... reference to him. Potter now ...te a scene in Karaoke in which ... writer gets to punch the director ...o has replaced Why Must I Be A ...enager In Love? with Your ...eatin' Heart.

...ow, in Ross on Wye, an assis... director called out: "SILENCE! ...ld Track." Inside the dance hall, ... in the yard outside, everyone ... silent. Technicians and director ...uched by the camera, extras ...nged by the wall. Line produc... producer and snooping ac...ntants all fell silent. Trodd, ...oks under his arm, stood with ... face down, as if in prayer. A car...nter who had rattled down the ...tter of his van stood with hands ...d wide in a "What did I do?" ...pression.

At that moment many of them ...ust have been realising that this ...as the last time they would be ...aking an original Dennis Potter ...y. At first it was only the techni... necessity of this silence which ...s apparent. But it soon took on ...e character of a traditional salute ... the memory of the dead.

Suddenly, from a workshop down ...e road, there came the sound of ...eery voices, the clang of metal ...d laughter from an open garage ...or. An unconcerned part of the ...rld was going its own way.

You felt that Potter, a generous...nded man who, in his ferocious ...y, generally had the best of inten...ns, both humane and artistic, ...uld not have grudged them.

...aoke and Cold Lazarus will be ...own by the BBC and C4 in the ...ring

Fairytale charms . . . Alexander Morozov as the Sea King in Sadko

PHOTOGRAPH: MURDO MacLEOD

Monarchs of the deep

OPERA
Andrew Clements

THE showcase of its wares that the Kirov Opera has brought to Edinburgh provides the festival with its authentic operatic highlight, and the opportunity to sample at least something of what they have achieved at home in St Petersburg under the most difficult circumstances imaginable.

The company's first offering was the father of all Russian operas, Glinka's **Ruslan and Lyudmila**, in a concert performance in the Usher Hall before moving to the Festival Theatre for a series of fully staged performances of two works by Rimsky-Korsakov not seen in a British opera house in living memory.

Legend of the Invisible City of Kitezh, given a concert performance on a flying visit to London last December, got the full treatment — a production of sorts by Andris Liepa in the chocolate-box designs of Anatole Nezhny. The conductor, as ever, was the Kirov's phenomenal artistic director, Valery Gergiev, whose missionary zeal on behalf of Rimsky-Korsakov is already bringing international recognition to a body of work rarely heard in the West.

What was already clear from last year's Barbican performance was the quality of the music, a score of stunning imagination and dramatic effectiveness. But with the benefit of staging, even one as banal as this, the thrust of the opera becomes much clearer. It's a work about Christian belief and the possibilities of redemption.

It speaks volumes for the quality of the Kirov performance that all four hours so triumphantly transcended the limitations of the production. The cast, led by Marina Shaguch's Fevronia and Sergei Naida's Prince Vsevolod, was efficient rather than outstanding, but with Gergiev working miracle after miracle in the pit, and the Kirov orchestra producing playing of assurance and power, Legend Of The Invisible City Of Kitezh emerged as close to a Rimsky-Korsakov masterpiece as could ever be hoped.

The second fully-staged Rimsky-Korsakov opera was **Sadko**. Even the smallest roles are frequently taken by singers who in most western houses would be reserved strictly for the leads — in Sadko, for instance, even the tiny offstage part of an apparition was sung by the imposingly authoritative baritone Nikolai Putilin, just as in Kitezh the three minutes of The Bird Of Paradise went to the wondrous mezzo Larissa Diadkova. And with this depth of quality goes the sense of a vocal ensemble absolutely integrated and focused, as soloists and chorus sing with a fearless directness and clarity which pin the audience to their seats.

It is not pure gain; the art of coarse opera acting persists at the Kirov in a way that would sometimes embarrass an amateur operatic and dramatic society. But almost always the power of the performance, the commitment and the sheer belief in what they're doing, transcend the dramatic limitations.

There's little beneath the fairytale surfaces of Sadko and its story of the minstrel who falls in love with the daughter of the Sea King and is carried off to an underwater world, save ample scope for Rimsky's exceptional orchestral imagination.

The Kirov's production is a loving replica of one first seen in St Petersburg at the turn of the century, complete with underwater ballets. It's a period piece of huge charm and a genuine historical curiosity, and with a cast led by the velvety-toned Valentina Tsidipova (Gorchakova's replacement) and the powerful and tireless tenor Vladimir Galusin, kept its musical integrity to the very end.

...ttention grabber with unusual thrills

...NEMA
...rek Malcolm

...HOSE who think Quentin Tarantino is the only new ...ent capable of polishing up ...e rather mundane image of the ...erican cinema could prof...bly take a look at Bryan ...ger's *The Usual Suspects*, a ...ller that in certain respects ...s with Pulp Fiction and in ...ers beats it.

On one level it's as much of a ...nkey puzzle as The Big Sleep, ...present revived amid much ...se in London. But it isn't just ...verly contrived plots that mat... and in this case, as with the ...ward Hawks film, there are ...siderable compensations. This is largely a matter of ...le, screenplay and acting, ...h of which so transcends ...ger's Public Access, an in...ing but in the end broken...ked debut about a deadly ...nger stirring up trouble in ...all-town America, that you ...ld scarcely recognise the ...e writer (Christopher ...Quarrie) and director. ...t Public Access undeniably ...wed promise, The Usual ...pects vies to become the ...descreen genre thriller of the ...r as it travels backwards and ...wards from a San Pedro ...ckside where a ship full of ...traband drugs is fired and an ...een man shoots Gabriel Byrne's corrupt cop. Earlier in time, if not in the film, a police round-up in New York includes the ex-cop and introduces us to several other villains, including a crippled squealer called Verbal (Kevin Spacey) and Stephen Baldwin's bad-tempered McManus.

Verbal is given immunity by the New York policeman in charge (Chazz Palminteri), in exchange for talking. But back in circulation, the gang of usual suspects pulls off a coup by removing $3 million of emeralds from Paul Bartel's smuggler.

Taking the jewels to a fence in Los Angeles, the men become involved in another heist in which several are killed. The result puts them in thrall to a Mr Big, which sends us back to the dockside conflagration.

On this basic structure, the film constructs an elaborate entertainment with a simple moral — that you can't beat corruption even if you are inclined that way. There is always a more powerful broker somewhere around.

When you add to this mix a score from John Ottoman that isn't afraid to use classical music, editing from the same source that knows exactly when to stop a sequence, and cinematography from Newton Thomas Sigel that uses the widescreen better than most, you have a formidable lexicon of talent on display. And display it is, since The Usual Suspects, though it has several ironic thoughts in its head about crime and punishment, seldom fails to provide what a good thriller should — the feeling that anything may happen.

Among these are Benicio Del Toro, excellent as one of the gang members, Pete Postlethwaite as Mr Big's lawyer fixer, polite but inflexibly tough, and Spacey, very fine as the thief who talks. Palminteri, Byrne and Baldwin are as good as you might expect them to be with something coherent to do. Palminteri, in particular, seems to choose his parts well, with this following Woody Allen's Bullets Over Broadway and Robert De Niro's A Bronx Tale. But then these are parts most Hollywood denizens would die for.

As for Singer and McQuarrie, and you can't really divide the two, they have progressed from promise to real achievement. The Usual Suspects is cleverer and less theatrical than Reservoir Dogs, and beats Pulp Fiction for sheer subtlety.

Everything is relative, and this has not been a good summer, but I recommend this film as one that confidently sits up and begs for attention. If it doesn't get it there's not much hope left for those who recognise that the cinema is not just a vehicle for mammoth special effects or bland problem pictures.

Thrillers

Chris Petit

Riding the Rap, by Elmore Leonard (Viking, £15)

LEONARD keeps abreast more than most writers, folding his reading and viewing back into his stories. Debts indirectly acknowledged include the unlikely — Brian Keenan's An Evil Cradling — and the more likely — Tarantino's Reservoir Dogs. As a narrative mechanic Leonard's hard to beat. A once rich kid, now middle-aged, carries out a Beirut-style hostage job in Florida with help from two hired hands, including one who prunes his victims with garden secateurs. The painful unravelling of incarceration shows Keenan's influence. The rest is Leonard at near top form: a dancing storyline peopled with the dangerously (and touchingly) stupid, violence that bursts out of a clear afternoon, and a licensed psychic who plays peek-a-boo with the plot; can she be for real?

Sunburn, by Laurence Shames (Macmillan, £9.99)

RICHARD CONDON turned the Mafia on its head and into a joke with his Prizzi stories, a vein Shames also mines well, making funny with Mafia phonetics and the vanities of old *capos* grown frail. Despite a cast of so many aged, the plot starts jumping around like it's on speed when a Godfather, holidaying in Key West, decides to dump a lifetime's secrets on to a ghost writer, to the consternation of the FBI and mobsters. Best is Bert the Shirt, a retired hood, reluctantly drawn back in and despatched to wintry New York for the sad discovery that his old criminal haunt is now a Korean fruit store.

On Leaving a Prague Window, by David Brierley (Little, Brown £15.99)

THIS SOMBRE tale of Prague coming to grips with itself is a meditative affair befitting the troubled conscience of a priest with a past. Guilt washes over the city like acid rain. The old order has gone, to re-emerge as new entrepreneurs glad-handing with Western capitalists. An old case of rape and murder by the security forces is reluctantly resurrected by the compromised priest, who finds himself treading warily down Kafka's corridors.

War Dance, by Tim Sebastian (Orion, £15.99)

BEWARE THE enemy at home is the message, and with the author a TV man perhaps his story of secret deals and back-stabbing should be read as a metaphor for life at the BBC. When a minor Balkan state is secretly sacrificed to Serb invasion, in goes a British colonel to sort it out, unaware that he is the patsy of his two-faced brigadier, who promptly cuckolds him too. Bigger problems occur in the form of staccato prose, but once in the war zone, Sebastian proves good on messy action, though uncomfortable throughout with plot coincidence.

By the waters of history . . .

Adam Zamoysky

Black Sea
by Neal Ascherson
Cape 306pp £17.99

WHEN it was not making me reconsider my attitudes to history, culture and race, this book set me dreaming of Ancient Greece, the Vikings, of Trebizond and Genghis Khan. Neal Ascherson recounts forays to places such as the Crimea, Odessa and Istanbul. But he visits them not as most travel writers do, impelled by a general urge to explore, he goes to check out on the spot things he has studied and thought about at length. His visits are archaeological, the background to meditations on historical events, peoples and civilisations associated with the Black Sea.

This landlocked, largely dead and seemingly dull expanse of water has played an extraordinarily significant role. The region has seen intensive movements of peoples, some coming ashore from the sea, others reaching it across mountain and steppe. It was the scene of Greek colonial expansion and a mine for mythology, home of Amazons and Argonauts. From here Theodoric the Great set out to conquer Italy and Harald Hardrada set off to capture England, only to fall in battle at Stamford Bridge in 1066. The Black Sea was the source of silk and spices from the East, and the gateway through which the Black Death entered Europe.

But Black Sea is ultimately about something much more important: self-perception. It was in the Greek trading settlements along the northern coast that the founders of western civilisation first encountered "the barbarian", in the shape of the Scythians. The barbarian was distinguished from the Greeks not by his uncouthness or wild ways; he was different because he did not live in a permanent house or a town. This made him impossible to conquer, and therefore free, and this freedom alarmed the Greeks. It has worried western civilisation ever since.

Natural subversives such as Pushkin and Lermontov glorified this freedom, just as their poetically minded fellows in the West painted the image of the noble savage. German intellectuals tried to tame their fear through pseudo-scientific theory, with the entirely erroneous conceit that nomadism was the natural condition of primitive mankind, and that tribes tended to settle when they "grew up". But none of this can banish the fear of cosmic chaos conjured in the ordered and settled western mind by the thought of masses on the move.

Today's nomads do not wear horned helmets, or ride horses. They wear baseball caps and use every type of modern conveyance to get within the walls. They have exchanged the Scythian chariot for the supermarket trolley as they roam the open spaces of our cities. The knowledge that there are tens of millions more of them, east of the Bug, south of the Mediterranean and beyond the Rio Grande, lends those trolleys all the menace of a battle-tank.

Through the ethnic and cultural commingling that has been taking place in the Black Sea region, Ascherson also traces other intriguing constants. One is that whether nomads or settled, huge numbers of people live on the periphery of their own worlds, often far from their spiritual and cultural homes, but fiercely attached to them. Thus the descendants of the Greeks who inhabited the Crimean satellites of the Hellenic world regard themselves, after 3,000 years, as being every bit as Greek as the inhabitants of Athens, with whom they cannot communicate properly any more. Every emigrant, as well as every refugee, regards himself and is accepted as belonging to some (possibly defunct) national polity. And, as often as not, his sense of belonging and his "patriotism" [...] more violent the farther he [...] "home". This is having increasingly frightening results.

The cities surrounding the [...] Sea became home to dozens of different ethnic groups, which [...] harmony for centuries, even [...]nia. Yet it only takes a bone of contention, usually brought in from outside, for the delicate symbiosis to break down and for the ethnic religious groups to start murdering each other. The spark that sets the tinderbox can come from a distant home, as in the case of Pontic Greeks, where the [...] Greek attack on Turkey resulted [...] the massacre and evacuation of the entire Greek population of what had been Trebizond. Or from the [...] for independence, as happened when Abkhazia decided to opt [...] separation from Georgia in 199[...]

Ascherson's habitual wit and [...] turn of phrase do not obscure [...] seriousness or the wisdom of [...] book, which carries a number [...] messages. The most important [...] that one cannot stop groups [...] human beings from considering themselves to be a people, a n[...] a culture, however demonstrably absurd their claims may be. Th[...]cepted reaction of branding s[...] stincts as "nationalist" — [...] therefore reprehensible — is [...] only indefensible, it is stupid i[...] also doomed to be ineffective [...] had better learn this lesson qui[...]

Comedy of catastrophes

Alex Clark

The Breezes
by Joseph O'Neill
Faber 180pp £8.99 pback

WHAT is the correct response to random tragedy? Positive but self-deluding stoicism or a resigned and apathetic fatalism? This dilemma is at the heart of Joseph O'Neill's fine second novel, The Breezes. Centring around two catastrophic weeks in the life of the luckless and seemingly doomed Breeze family, it examines their frantic attempts to assimilate events beyond their control. The truth is, however, that the main event has already happened: 14 years previously, in a spectacular piece of bad fortune, mother Breeze was struck by lightning and killed instantly in the town centre.

The novel's narrator is her son, John Breeze, an easy-going twenty-something who is intermittently gripped by existential panic. Having abandoned accountancy to become a maker of avant-garde chairs, he is daunted by the prospect of his imminent success, an exhibition at the high-class Devonshire gallery, which displays chairs with names like Ouch on the basis of their "strong ironical content". His response to the possibility of life on an artistic treadmill is a terrified inaction. With two weeks to go, the chairs — provisionally entitled 5 Tripods — are not even capable of standing up by themselves.

The only certainties that John can bear with any equanimity are the love of his upwardly mobile girlfriend, Angela, and the continuing cheerfulness of his beleaguered father, Gene Breeze. Gene is the book's central comic creation. Optimistic in the face of the most awful experiences, he never stops trying. Although initially sceptical about his son's chosen profession, he eventually embraces its potential usefulness and integrity.

One of the many successful moments in O'Neill's portrayal of the father-son relationship comes when Gene attempts to breathe life into John's new enterprise: ". . . nowadays people are sitting down a whole lot more than they used to. Which means that they're going to need more chairs than ever before." Gene sees the good in everything, from his job as manager of the ailing Rockport Railway Network — which involves his face appearing on posters everywhere and a huge degree of personal abuse — to his unbalanced daughter, Rosie, and her layabout boyfriend, and his incontinent basset-hound, Trusty. Even his incompetence as a football referee doesn't prevent him from chasing after games in the park on Sundays. Thinking of him, John imagines the cartoon character Wile E Coyote, doggedly running into mountains and off the edges of cliffs in his pursuit of Roadrunner.

Suddenly things get unimaginably worse. Starting with an innocuous enough incident at football, Gene's life becomes hell, his best friend lying in a coma, his house broken into and wrecked, his job under threat from "downsizing". O'Neill's considerable achievement is to render all these disasters, at once deeply affecting and extremely funny. He is an acute judge of the extent to which the young man's apparent attempts to humour his father are in fact signs of his own neediness: John laughs at Gene's ludicrous buoyancy, but can't cope at all when he begins to sink.

Patterns of dependency and enablement are treated with enormous wit and a generosity of spirit which informs the whole book. His father's gradual disintegration and Angela's staggering betrayal — far more shocking than mere infidelity — galvanise John into reluctant action that he accepts as vital at the same time as acknowledging its limitations. The basis of this denouement — presumably that good can come out of bad — could easily have been trite, but clearly, brashly, isn't. This is a novel about losers forced to become winners, and it works.

Soft centre, hard-edged

Anthony Quinn

Collected Stories
by Peter Carey
Faber 353pp £14.99

PETER CAREY'S reputation in Britain largely rests on the discursive, almost Victorian grandeur of novels like Illywhacker and Oscar And Lucinda. The publication of his Collected Stories now allows us to size him up as a miniaturist. "Reading his stories is like being shot by a firing squad of angels," reckons the Sydney Morning Herald on the back of the book, so best equip yourself with a last cigarette and blindfold before embarking.

There are certainly a few hair-raising moments in the collection, though it takes some time before you get the hang of its author's skewed angle on the world. Indeed, the early stories (early, that is, in the book's running order) are not especially seductive. Several of them are little more than *jeux d'esprit*, short sketches that barely acknowledge the obligations of narrative. They generally rely for their effect upon sudden arresting shifts of perspective: in the blink of an eye an apparently light mood spirals into a hallucinatory — and sometimes horrific — dreamworld.

For instance, "Life and Death in the South Side Pavilion" starts out like something from Woody Allen but within a page has tipped into a tale of mysterious cruelty reminiscent of Kafka, all about the shepherd's sadistic impulse to drown horses — "In less than an hour there were 12 horses floating in the pool. They bumped softly into one another like bad dreams in a basin."

Carey seems preoccupied with the body, not just its various excretions but its capacity to mutate or disintegrate. Drugs play a part, both in terms of content and inspiration. In one story, a man finds a woman literally coming apart in his hands, "slowly, limb by limb. Until, headless, armless, legless, I carelessly lo[...] grip and she falls to the floor."

"The Chance", the longest s[...] here (and one of the best), envis[...] a fascistic dystopia where the p[...]tion take their chances on a "ge[...] lottery" in the hope of a succe[...] body transplant. "War Crimes" [...] similarly futuristic nightmare [...] which the body politic is dis[...] and in decline. The narrator and [...] business associate arrive at a f[...] food plant in some hideous out[...] where the unemployed scaveng[...] food; their brief is to rescue the [...]tory's ailing fortunes, but with [...] difference — they carry guns. W[...] might have been a grotesque co[...]edy of exaggeration instead esca[...] into a scorched horror story.

THE BOOK'S best story bri[...] the body's decay to a s[...] halt; an antiques dealer who o[...] collection of morbid memora[...] and photographs of murder vic[...] plans, as his *pièce de résistance* [...] embalm the corpse of a lad[...] and turn her into a permanent ex[...]bition, a testament to "the porn[...]phy of death". Sick, of course, b[...] funny and bizarrely touching to[...]

Writers often have pet words [...] what "seedy" was to Graham Greene, "soft" is to Peter Carey. [...] lost count of the times I happ[...] upon the word: "soft slow [...] "smiles in soft surprise", "fac[...] the soft horizon", "soft beds of [...]phine", "caressed by a soft [...] path" constitute a fair selection [...] rather cuts against the grain [...] these stories, which tend to deal [...] characters and settings that [...] harsh, abrasive, unyielding, but [...] this incongruity that also ma[...] them memorable — like the bra[...] troubleshooter in "War Crimes" [...]ving over a bundle of rags [...] turns out to be a human body.

"'How did it feel?' He consi[...] my question. 'I don't know,' [...] drawled out the words, beginning [...] luxuriate in the puzzle they [...]tained, 'just sort of *soft* . . .'"

Train spotting in Edinburgh: Lomax's obsession provides the raw material for a near-classic of autobiography PHOTOGRAPH: MILEPOST 92½

Train spotter whose hobby almost killed him

Ian Jack

The Railway Man
by Eric Lomax
Cape 276pp £15.99

THIS beautiful, awkward book tells the story of a fine and awkward man; his suffering and torture as a prisoner of war; and his eventual reconciliation with one of his Japanese captors and persecutors. The media has been awash over the summer with similar accounts of horror (if rarely of reconciliation) and the publication of Eric Lomax's story could be seen as the catchpenny product of anniversaryitis: the selective memory that operates by date and delivers orgasms of recollection — in May, the 50th anniversary of the war's end in Europe, last month Hiroshima, Nagasaki, and the surrender of the Japanese. But here, I think, is an account that rises above mere timeliness and comes near to being a classic of autobiography.

Lomax writes, of course, about cruelty and suffering in the Far East, but he also tells us about himself — not simply about himself as a victim but as a particular kind of man, devoted to particulars. Out of the details of his life emerges a picture of a Britain that has largely vanished, with human qualities of resourcefulness, invention and stoicism that seem to have gone the same way. Lomax had all three qualities. They got him into trouble with the Japanese, but they also helped him survive them.

He was born in 1919, the only child of a Post Office engineer, and grew up on the shores of the Forth near Edinburgh. There were books in the house — his father was a self-improver — and Lomax caught the habit of wanting to find out about things and, having found out, to produce lists and maps, categories and classifications. People like this today are sometimes known as "control freaks", but in those days it was simpler to call them stamp collectors or railway enthusiasts.

Lomax became both, and especially the latter. He can remember, with typical precision, the date when he was caught by it — September 12, 1932 — and the exact place. He stopped "on an impulse of no importance" on a footbridge across the railway near his home, and looked down: "Below me was a shiny heavy web of iron and wood . . . parallel lines of metal suddenly curving and merging smoothly into other sets of tracks; ladders fixed to the earth, climbing into the distance."

The enthusiasm took over his life and became his "scholarly passion . . . a 'subject' as valid as mathematics or French". He evokes it very well — unsentimentally, unironically; few writers (Nick Hornby would be one of them) have managed to convey the attractions of their obsessions so clearly without at the same time condescending to them.

In the space of 40 pages and by the time war breaks out, we have a picture of Lomax as a solitary young technician in the Post Office, who spends all his spare time cycling to and from railway embankments and over bridges, and who (thanks to a chance encounter with an evangelist and fellow enthusiast on a station platform) has also taken up with God and the Baptists.

> **The book possesses a great humanity, demonstrating how people are sustained by the oddest things**

He becomes a wireless operator and telegrapher in the Royal Corps of Signals and sets sail for India, where, he imagines, he will help defend the British Empire against a German attack through Persia. He goes on leave in Kashmir and is transfixed by its absolute beauty: "Later, it went some way to keeping me whole. If I had had no idea of perfection, I don't know if I would have come through." Then his regiment is assembled on a parade ground and told by a general their enemy might be the Japanese and, if so, they should try to fight them at night, because the Japanese suffered from night blindness.

When they dock at Singapore, a band on the quayside plays "There'll Always Be An England", but Lomax's world and Britain's empire are on the slide. He and his group are posted up the Malayan coast to defend an airstrip, but the planes for which they were supposed to sacrifice their lives abandon the airstrip — suddenly, without warning or explanation — soon after Lomax gets there, and he finds himself defending nothing but empty huts and a runway rapidly filling with jungle and weeds. One day, standing alone on the beach, he hears a loud rumbling from over the horizon "like thunder, but obviously not thunder". Out at sea, the Prince of Wales and the Repulse, "the two mightiest, most invincible battleships in the world", are being sunk by swarms of Japanese torpedo bombers. "I had heard the British Empire begin to fall, if I had but known it."

Suddenly, Britain is no longer so resourceful, inventive, stoic. Lomax's group retreats to Singapore, where 100,000 well-armed men are about to give up. Lomax sees nothing of the siege — he is in the headquarters bunker for three weeks, listening to and relaying "a series of clipped shouts for help over the radio and terse bulletins of disaster".

Emerging into the confusion of surrender, he sees six Chinese heads stuck on poles: "It is hard to explain how this display of medieval barbarity did not shock us more. We felt immune to it; these heads were trophies of an international Asian conflict . . . we could not imagine that cruelty does not discriminate once it is unleashed."

The cruelty eventually arrives by train, when Lomax is sent to work on the infamous railway that the Japanese are building over the mountains between Thailand and Burma, in preparation for their planned invasion of India. The irony could be described as delicious if the consequences were not so brutal. "I could not believe that I had become a prisoner only to be sent to work on a road for the machines that had given me such intense pleasure when I was free."

In fact, Lomax's work on the railway was relatively easy compared with the punishing physical labour, cutting rock and jungle and laying track, that killed so many thousands of diseased and under-nourished men from South-east Asia and India, as well as Britain and its white dominions. He was a young officer; he became a sign-writer and odd-job carpenter in one of the railway construction camps; he and some of his fellow prisoners were skilled and cocky enough to make radio receivers from stolen stores and pieces of scrap. That was a mistake. The receivers are discovered and the Japanese beat Lomax and his friends with staves, so badly that some men die.

A further mistake is Lomax's secret map of the railway he is helping to build, drawn because "it was always very important for me to know where I was, to locate myself precisely on a grid: to record, list and categorise the world around me as far as possible". The map might be useful if they ever escaped, but, as Lomax admits, it also had its own intrinsic pleasures.

His Japanese interrogators are puzzled and infuriated by this map. They alternately beat him with sticks and half drown him by hosing water down his mouth and nostrils. He tries to convince them that he is something then unknown in Japan, a railway enthusiast, and that the map-making stems from his pleasure. He tells them about locomotives and "how interesting it was to see a metre-gauge railway in operation", and his captor's bemusement turns quickly into brutality. The interpreter asks: "You are a railway mania?", meaning maniac, and that, in a way, is what Lomax has become.

The map and the interrogation form the kernel of Lomax's story, though his suffering does not end there. Many months follow in harsh captivity, and then, at the war's end, comes the impossibility of sharing his experience with people who can neither imagine it nor wish to know. Repression (so often the obverse of obsession) fills his life once again with railways; his marriage comes unstuck; for almost 50 years he hates and seeks vengeance on the Japanese. And then slowly, unfrozen drop by drop, the ice of his personality begins to melt under the warmth of a new marriage (his bride met, of course, on a train), and he slowly prepares himself for a meeting with his tormentor of half a century ago.

The book has its faults — the eventual reconciliation suggests contrivance and a television crew — but it possesses a great humanity, demonstrating how people can be sustained by the oddest things, including the love of impersonal, unowned and artificial objects. Even when Lomax is a prisoner, that love never deserts him. He notes the classification and wheel arrangements of Japanese locomotives. He can still remember the day an old German locomotive steamed into the camp — "the joy of its sudden appearance on that dusty and degraded siding under the palm trees".

Ian Jack is editor of Granta

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Cricket Sixth Cornhill Test England v West Indies

Atherton squares combative series

Mike Selvey at The Oval

ONE of the most explosive and competitive series England has staged came to the gentlest of drawn ends at 5.30 on Monday afternoon with a single jaunty over from Brian Lara and handshakes all round.

England, required to bat out the day, did so to reach 223 for four, 15 runs short of making West Indies bat again but actually with plenty in hand. At the crease were Graeme Hick, whose 51 followed 96 in the first innings and his century at Trent Bridge, and Alan Wells, who might have gone down as the least successful Test cricketer of all time after his first-ball nought on the first day.

Earlier, Mike Atherton had shown immense fortitude once more, making sure his side did not capitulate but himself falling for 95 when his ninth Test hundred seemed to be there for the taking.

In the end the pitch was the winner, for without devil in it for the pacemen or purchase for the spinners, batsmen were always going to rule. A total of 1,369 runs with an average of more than 60 per wicket is over-egging the batting pudding, and the temptation must have been for Tony Lewis to give the Man of the Match award to a bowler.

Curtly Ambrose, for example, who with Courtney Walsh was in all probability making his last Test appearance in England, walked off half an hour before the close to an ovation that drew from him an emotional response. His match figures of seven for 131 from 61 overs were little short of sensational.

There was no denying Lara the award, however, for his 179 on the third day came at such a pace that it gave West Indies their outside chance of forcing victory. Lara, with 765 runs, also claimed the West Indies Man of the Series award — hardly the most taxing of the decisions Ray Illingworth has made this summer. England's Man of the Series might, according to the West Indies manager Wes Hall, have gone to Dominic Cork for his 26 wickets, or to Graham Thorpe, who led the batting with 506 runs. Instead he gave it to Atherton, citing his ability under pressure and his "perennial unflappability, good humour and quiet dignity".

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England can now go to South Africa with more hope than the bookmakers' odds of 2-1 against would suggest. "Get some money on, it will be okay," said Illingworth, although he declined to say whether his own brass would be risked.

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Atherton, as efficient as ever off the back foot, played courageously for almost two hours while Crawley dug in, but Kenny Benjamin's ability to extract unexpected bounce put paid to the England captain when he edged to second slip. The partnership was worth 51.

Two Ambrose deliveries in the evening probably changed the course of this final Test. One drew Thorpe forward outside his off stump and Courtney Browne made no mistake with the catch. Three minutes later, Alan Wells, facing his first ball on his debut, was out in the wink of an eye, unable to cope with Ambrose's rib-tickling bounce, the catch looping to short leg.

Creditably Jack Russell avoided both the hat-trick and much else besides. With Graeme Hick (43 not out) overcoming a hostile reception from Walsh to play fluently, the pair added 41 for the sixth wicket. The partnership revived England to 233 for five at the close.

They managed to regain the initiative on the second day, mainly through force of will. Hick and Russell batted their socks off without quite reaching the centuries they deserved, then by taking the score to 454 all out, the lower order did their job.



Lara's theme . . . Richie Richardson, left, congratulates his master batsman on reaching his century during a fine 179 PHOTO: DAN SMITH

It was desperately hard work for the West Indies bowlers but the best did not go unrewarded. Walsh, delivering the 16,900th ball of his Test career, flogged one more bouncer out of the pitch and saw Mike Watkinson glove it to Browne. It was his 300th Test wicket and he became the ninth Test bowler to pass that landmark since Fred Trueman 31 years ago.

Any hopes England may have entertained of winning evaporated in the searing heat of the third day. When Brian Lara made his grand entry he set out to impose his will from the start. He cracked his third ball from Angus Fraser to the boundary and was on his way.

Sherwin Campbell flourished in his wake with an 89 before Fraser had him caught by Russell, then Richie Richardson weighed in to finish on 87, but not before [...] gone for a magnificent 17[...] off Devon Malcolm at [...] tempting another exotic dr[...]

On the fourth day We[st Indies] amassed their highest tot[al against] England, 692 for eight d[eclared,] which included 127 from Ho[oper, ...] from Chanderpaul and [...] Richardson.

England were facing a d[eficit of] 238, but the fire of Walsh, A[mbrose] and Bishop was dampened [by the] pitch, and Atherton and Ga[llian sur]vived comfortably till the cl[ose].

Scoreboard

ENGLAND
First Innings
[...]
J E R Gallian c Hooper b Ambrose
J P Crawley c Richardson b Hooper
G P Thorpe c Browne b Ambrose
G A Hick c Williams b Benjamin
A P Wells c Campbell b Ambrose
†R C Russell b Ambrose
M Watkinson c Browne b Walsh
D G Cork b Ambrose
A R C Fraser not out
D E Malcolm c Lara b Benjamin
Extras (b15, lb11, nb15)
Total (159 overs)
Fall of wickets: 9, 60, 149, 19[...] 372, 419, 443.
Bowling: Ambrose 42-10-96-5; [...] 84-1; Benjamin 27-6-81-3; Bishop [...] 0; Hooper 23-7-56-1.

WEST INDIES
First Innings
S C Williams c Russell b Malcolm
S L Campbell c Russell b Fraser
K C G Benjamin c Atherton b Cork
B C Lara c Fraser b Malcolm
*R B Richardson c Hick b Cork
C L Hooper c Russell b Malcolm
S Chanderpaul c Gallian b Cork
†C O Browne not out
I R Bishop run out
C E L Ambrose not out
Extras (b5, lb20, w5, nb2)
Total (for 8 dec, 163 overs)
Fall of wickets: 40, 94, 202, [...] 653, 686.
Did not bat: C A Walsh.
Bowling: Malcolm 39-7-160-3 [...] 155-1; Watkinson 26-3-113-0 [...] 3; Gallian 12-1-56-0; Hick 10-[...]

ENGLAND
Second Innings
J E R Gallian c Williams b Ambrose
*M A Atherton c Browne b Benjamin
J P Crawley c Browne b Ambrose
G P Thorpe c Williams b Walsh
G A Hick not out
A P Wells not out
Extras (lb4, nb5)
Total (for 4, 98 overs)
Fall of wickets: 60, 64, 132, [...]
Bowling: Walsh 28-7-80-1; Am[...] 35-2; Hooper 22-11-26-0; Chande[...] 22-0; Bishop 22-4-56-1; Lara [...]

Sports Diary Mark Redding

Olazabal the easy Ryder

IAN WOOSNAM's worst fears were realised when the European golf captain Bernard Gallacher named Jose-Maria Olazabal as the final member of his Ryder Cup team to play the United States at Oak Hill from September 22 to 24.

Nick Faldo had already been handed the other wild card, to join the automatic selections Bernhard Langer, Sam Torrance, Costantino Rocca, Severiano Ballesteros, David Gilford, Mark James, Howard Clark, Per-Ulrik Johansson, Philip Walton and Colin Montgomerie, who won the German Open at Stuttgart.

"If I'm not playing there's no way I want to be there next month," Woosnam had said. "I will most probably not even bother to watch."

ALAIN PROST is to test drive for the McLaren Formula One team, possibly paving the way back for a return to grand-prix racing. The 40-year-old Frenchman won three world championships with McLaren in 1985, 1986 and 1989 and another with Williams in 1993 before retiring.

GARY JACOBS failed in his attempt to take the World Boxing Council welterweight title from the American Pernell Whitaker in Atlantic City. The 29-year-old Scot struggled to last the distance and was floored twice in the final round before losing on a unanimous points decision.

In contrast, Northern Ireland's Eamonn Loughran stopped the American Tony Gannarelli in the sixth round to retain his World Boxing Organisation welterweight title at the Ulster Hall in Belfast. The referee called a halt as the challenger got up from the canvas and walked into a flurry of pulverising blows.

JEFF TARANGO was fined £18,500 and banned from two Grand Slam tournaments by the International Tennis Federation as punishment for storming off court at Wimbledon, calling an umpire "the most corrupt official in the game". The American appealed, making him eligible for the US Open, but as if to rub salt into his wounds he was fined a further £13,000 by the ATP Tour for remarks he had made after the match, against Germany's Alexander Mronz. He had already been fined £9,700 by the All England club.

ANDREW SYMONDS, the 20-year-old Anglo-Australian batsman, broke cricket's world six-hitting record when he struck 16 in an innings for Gloucestershire against Glamorgan at Abergavenny. The previous mark was 15, set by New Zealand's John Reid in 1963. Despite Symonds's first-innings 254 the County Championship match was drawn.



Symonds . . . awesome hitting

ENGLAND retained the bronze medal in hockey's European Nations Cup with an efficient 2-1 victory over Belgium, Calum Giles and Russell Garcia scoring the goals. Germany took the title by beating the Netherlands 9-8 on penalties after a disappointing 2-2 draw.

TWELVE clubs, none of them English, will contest rugby union's first European Cup when it kicks off in October. The line-up will comprise Cardiff, Swansea, Pontypridd, Toulouse, Racing Club of Paris, Milan, Treviso, Ulster, Munster, Leinster, and two district sides from Scotland which have yet to be named.

LINFORD CHRISTIE won the 100 metres at the Ivo van Damme Grand Prix in Brussels, his third victory in the third race of the Golden Four series, which offers a prize of gold bullion for the winner of all four races in a single event.

Christie also finished joint first with John Drummond of the United States in the 100 metres of the McDonald's Games at Crystal Palace. At the same meeting Britain's Jonathan Edwards produced the first legal 18 metres mark in England to win the triple jump.

THE chairman of Tottenha[m Hot]spur, Alan Sugar, has [...] sell the football club for £[...] Sugar was abused by fa[ns after] Spurs' defeat against Liverp[ool and] was criticised for not sp[ending] money on new players by [for]mer striker Jürgen Klinsmann.

BRITAIN'S rowing [...] emerged from the world c[ham]pionships in Tampere, Finla[nd with] six boats qualified for next [year's] Olympic Games. There were [...] medals for the lightweight [...] Peter Haining and the cox[less ...] of Steve Redgrave and Matthe[w Pin]sent, and silvers for the men's [...] less four, the men's lightw[eight] eight, the women's lightweight [...] and the women's lightweight [...]

BELGIAN police detained a[bout] 300 German fans after incid[ents] in Brussels city centre b[efore] Wednesday's soccer frie[ndly] against Germany. The match, [which] marked the opening of the ne[w na]tional stadium built on the [site of] Heysel, was won 2-1 by Germ[any.] Möller scored twice for the vi[sitors,] the winner coming from a re[bound] when his penalty kick was sav[ed by] Bodert after Goossens had e[qual]ised for Belgium.

Motor Racing Belgian Grand Prix

Suspended ban for Schumacher

[Al]an Henry at [S]pa-Francorchamps

THE SEASON of scrapes and ill-feeling continued for Damon Hill and Michael Schumacher in the Belgian Grand Prix, when the German world champion took first place and was then handed a one-race ban, suspended for four races.

The penalty came after a protest by the Williams team on behalf of Hill, who complained that he had been the victim of bad and unacceptable driving by Schumacher. The German, he said, had deliberately banged wheels with him on the 23rd lap.

Race stewards said the ban was for infringing the Code of Driving Conduct. Schumacher's Benetton team immediately lodged an appeal.

Schumacher said he had studied videotape evidence of the incidents in which Hill claimed he had driven dangerously, but could see nothing wrong. "I don't accept it. I don't agree with it and I see no reason for it. I will appeal," he said. He had been told that the ban would not come into effect unless he committed driving offences at any of the next four races.

It was a nerve-racking race in which Hill had to settle for second place. Schumacher drove brilliantly, gambling to stay on dry-weather slicks when the circuit was soaked by a shower. Yet he attracted Hill's criticism by constantly weaving from side to side when the Englishman's Williams, running quicker on rain tyres, came up behind him on lap 22. "If the rules do not prevent drivers from using cars as instruments to prevent other cars from overtaking, in other words to forcibly drive at another car, then the rules are wrong," said Hill.

His efforts were further undermined by five pit stops. He eventually scrambled past Martin Brundle's Ligier to take second place on the final lap and now trails Schumacher by 15 points.

The front-row Ferraris of Jean Alesi and Gerhard Berger wilted with mechanical problems, leaving David Coulthard's Williams in command ahead of Hill by the end of the sixth lap. By that point Schumacher was up to fifth place from 16th, harrying Eddie Irvine's Jordan, and he moved ahead into fourth on lap 11.

Coulthard retired from the lead on lap 14 with gearbox trouble, and Irvine's Jordan caught fire during a refuelling stop but the conflagration was quickly extinguished. Behind Brundle, Heinz-Harald Frentzen finished fourth in his Sauber ahead of Mark Blundell's McLaren. Johnny Herbert came in seventh.

Hot seat . . . Eddie Irvine escaped unscathed when his Jordan went up in flames after a refuelling valve jammed PHOTOGRAPH: BEN RADFORD

Rugby Union

Amateurism ditched as player pay gets go-ahead

Robert Armstrong

WORLD rugby switched dramatically from amateur to fully open status last weekend, exactly 100 years after the split which divided the game into league and union. After three days of intense discussion in a Paris hotel, the International Board announced its decision to ditch the amateur regulations in favour of professionalism and to lift all restrictions on payments to players.

The transition to a new era took a number of member unions by surprise, particularly those who are strapped for cash to pay for professional rugby. However, the IB has given each of its 67 unions carte blanche to draw up domestic regulations which could retain some form of amateurism.

None of the 20 representatives who attended the Paris meeting was in any doubt, though, that sweeping changes were necessary. At a stroke the hypocrisy of shamateurism has been brought to an end; instead, an honest recognition of the role commercial forces have to play has been made.

Peter Brook, one of England's two IB representatives, spoke for the vast majority of his colleagues when he gave the decision a warm welcome. "We were sick of the charade and the lack of honesty and credibility in the game," he said.

"We will frame a new set of regulations in Tokyo next month and after that individual unions, including the Rugby Football Union, will get down to the task of altering their own by-laws."

Vernon Pugh, chairman of the IB working party on amateurism which recommended the change, declared: "We are entering a very different world. The game will change for all, players and administrators alike. The decision of the council is extremely positive and bold."

However, Tony Hallett, the RFU secretary, sounded a note of caution for a domestic game that has a huge majority of amateur players, nearly 200,000 in England alone.

"A lot of areas are bound to cause great concern, especially as there is a danger that the richest clubs will get all the pickings. The RFU committee is well prepared for the disappearance of the word 'amateurism' but the changes have gone further perhaps than some people might have wished," he said.

It is thought likely that within two or three seasons most UK Courage League One clubs will pay their players a salary. England internationals are also expected to receive about £5,000 a match.

In fact, the door has been left open for each union to amend its own by-laws in its best interest. It is understood that Argentina and Ireland will draw up a tight quasi-amateur definition of the game.

This month the IB will consider a reverse gangway from league back to union for former union players young enough to pursue an international career in the 15-man code.

Soccer Premiership Sheff Wed 0 Newcastle Utd 2

Ginola in the ascendant

David Lacey

NEWCASTLE UNITED took over at the top of the Premiership with a daunting display that confirmed their billing as this season's title favourites.

For a long time at Hillsborough, Sheffield Wednesday's new learning under David Pleat threatened to deprive Kevin Keegan's team of their third victory in nine days.

Then *la belle alliance* of David Ginola and Peter Beardsley brought the goals which took Newcastle back above the only other club with a perfect record, Leeds, who had beaten Aston Villa 24 hours earlier.

Wednesday's afternoon began to go flat in the 53rd minute. Beardsley's swiftly taken short corner on the left gave Ginola time to take the ball inside and drag it on to his right foot before beating Pressman with an immaculate shot into the far corner of the net.

"David Ginola has a special talent," said Keegan, "and this sort of talent has to find the right place to play. I think he's found it now."

With 15 minutes remaining Ginola's pass up the left-hand touchline found Beardsley who, from the tightest of angles, looped the ball over Pressman and into the net off far post.

Soccer results

FA CARLING PREMIERSHIP
[Bolto]n W 2, Blackburn 1; Coventry 0, Arsenal 0; [Ev]erton 2, Southampton 0; Leeds Utd 2, Aston [Vil]la 0; Manchester Utd 3, Wimbledon 1; Middlesbrough 2, Chelsea 0; Nottm Forest 1, [Wes]t Ham 1; QPR 1, Manchester City 0; [Sh]eff'eld Wed 0, Newcastle Utd 2; Tottenham 1, [Liv]erpool 3.

ENDSLEIGH LEAGUE: First Division
[Bi]rmingham 3, Norwich 1; C Palace 1, Charlton 1; [Der]by 1, Grimsby 1; Luton 1, Leicester 1; [Mill]wall 0, Southend 0; Oldham 2, Sheffield Utd 1; [Po]rtsmouth 0, Reading 0; Stoke 0, Port Vale 1; Sunderland 2, Wolverhampton 0; Tranmere 3, Huddersfield 1; Watford 2, Barnsley 3; West [Bro]m 0, Ipswich 0.

Second Division: Bradford C 3, Shrewsbury 1; [Bristol] C 1, Stockport County 0; Burnley 1, [Bre]ntford 0; Carlisle 0, Swindon 1; Hull City 2, [Bla]ckpool 1; Oxford Utd 1, Rotherham 1; [Pet]erborough 0, Notts Co 1; Swansea 3, [Ches]terfield 2; Walsall 1, Bristol Rovers 1; [Wre]xham 1, Brighton 1; Wycombe 1, [Bo]urnemouth 2; York 2, Crewe 3.

Third Division: Chester 3, Plymouth 1; Colchester 3, Lincoln 0; Doncaster 0, Cardiff 0; Exeter 2, Scarborough 0; Fulham 4, Torquay 0; Gillingham 3, Cambridge 0; Hereford 3, Bury 4; L Orient 1, Darlington 1; Northampton 3, Mansfield 3; Preston 1, Wigan 1; Rochdale 4, Hartlepool 0; Scunthorpe 2, Barnet 0.

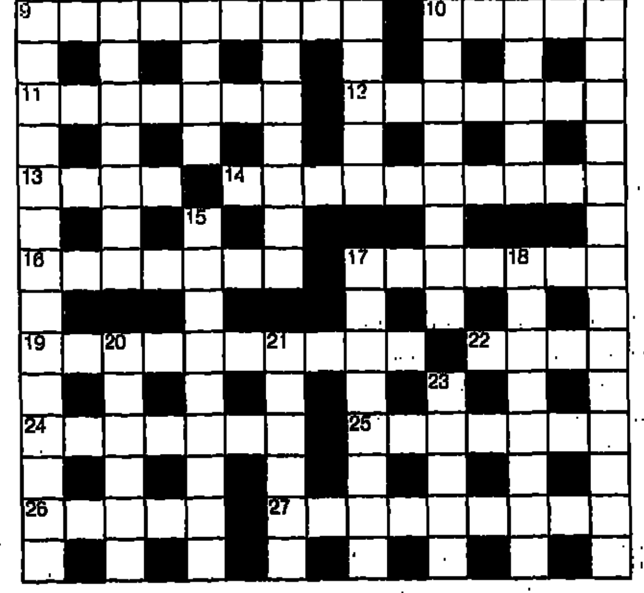
BELL'S SCOTTISH LEAGUE: Premier Division: Falkirk 2, Aberdeen 3; Hearts 1, Motherwell 1; Partick 1, Hibernian 1; Raith 0, Celtic 1; Rangers 1, Kilmarnock 0.

First Division: Dundee 1, Airdrie 1; Dunfermline 3, Dundee United 0; Greenock Morton 1, Dumbarton 2; Hamilton 0, Clydebank 2; St Mirren 0, St Johnstone 0.

Second Division: Berwick 3, Stirling 0; Clyde 1, Forfar 2; East Fife 1, Ayr 0; Montrose 1, Queen of South 4; Stenhousemuir 3, Stranraer 0.

Third Division: Alloa 3, Albion 2; Arbroath 1, Livingston 3; Caledonian T 1, Brechin 2; East Stirling 1, Ross County 2; Queen's Park 3, Cowdenbeath 1.

Cryptic crossword by Rufus



Across

9 Danes pull out completely (3,4,2)
10 State aid distributed by the Home Office (5)
11 Ban about mulled ale is in view (7)
12 One must do it to survive (7)
13 Make a note of the time perhaps (4)
14 Harmonious music for the hairdresser's ball? (10)
16 Greet us, perhaps, with a wave? (7)
17 Musical effect that's a lot more complicated (7)
19 Boy goes to an unusually arid place in Egypt (10)
22 Smart boy that is found back in France (4)
24 Sluggish movement of a train that's vandalised (7)
25 Plant daggers in Capone's back (7)
26 One eating in an American café (5)
27 Pole position? (9)

Down

1 Dancing girl associated with tramps and diggers (8,7)
2 Cries from clumsy seamen on prow of boat (8)
3 Range and directions (5)
4 Big copper's ex gets kiss (8)
5 Father about to see doctor in confidence (6)
6 Bud's tired out, having been roused from sleep (9)
7 Dad locks up an outcast (6)
8 What a diver must do who itches to make the grade? (4,2,2,7)
15 Young officer is awkward but learns (9)
17 Played with babies? (8)
18 Bribe the clergy to provide waterproof material (8)
20 Left in play (6)
21 Shows around Madras (6)
23 Cancel spaceflight, there's an unpleasant smell in craft (6)

Last week's solution

	A		T		F		P		C		I		B	
S	N	O	W	B	A	L	L		O	R	W	E	L	L
	I		E		R		A		O		I		O	
E	M	B	L	E	M		N	A	P	O	L	E	O	N
	A		V		A		E				L		D	
F	L	E	E		N	O	T	B	U	T	W	H	A	T
	S		H		I		S		N		O		N	
V	A	C	U	U	M	S		C	O	M	R	A	D	E
	R		N		A		P		B		K		T	
M	E	N	D	E	L	I	A	N	S		H	A	H	A
	E		R				T		E		A		U	
S	Q	U	E	A	L	E	R		R	A	R	I	N	G
	U		D		E		I		V		D		D	
R	A	G	T	A	G		O	P	E	N	E	Y	E	D
	L		H		S		T		D		R		R	

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Creditably Jack Russell avoided both the hat-trick and much else besides. With Graeme Hick (43 not out) overcoming a hostile reception from Walsh to play fluently, the pair added 41 for the sixth wicket. The partnership revived England to 233 for five at the close.

They managed to regain the initiative on the second day, mainly through force of will. Hick and Russell batted their socks off without quite reaching the centuries they deserved, then by taking the score to 454 all out, the lower order did their job.

It was desperately hard work for the West Indies bowlers but the best did not go unrewarded. Walsh, delivering the 16,900th ball of his Test career, flogged one more bouncer out of the pitch and saw Mike Watkinson glove it to Browne. It was his 300th Test wicket and he became the ninth Test bowler to pass that landmark since Fred Trueman 31 years ago.

Any hopes England may have entertained of winning evaporated in the searing heat of the third day. When Brian Lara made his grand entry he set out to impose his will from the start. He cracked his third ball from Angus Fraser to the boundary and was on his way.

Sherwin Campbell flourished in his wake with an 89 before Fraser had him caught by Russell, then Richie Richardson weighed in to finish on 87, but not before La[ra had] gone for a magnificent 179, [...] off Devon Malcolm at mi[d...] tempting another exotic driv[e].

On the fourth day West [Indies] amassed their highest total [against] England, 692 for eight de[c], which included 127 from Hoo[per, ...] from Chanderpaul and 9[...] Richardson.

England were facing a de[ficit of] 238, but the fire of Walsh, A[mbrose] and Bishop was dampened [by the] pitch, and Atherton and Ga[llian sur]vived comfortably till the clos[e].

Scoreboard

ENGLAND
First Innings
*M A Atherton c Williams b Benjamin
J E R Gallian c Hooper b Ambrose
J P Crawley c Richardson b Hooper
G P Thorpe c Browne b Ambrose
G A Hick c Williams b Benjamin
A P Wells c Campbell b Ambrose
†R C Russell b Ambrose
M Watkinson c Browne b Walsh
D G Cork b Ambrose
A R C Fraser not out
D E Malcolm c Lara b Benjamin
Extras (b15, lb11, nb15)
Total (159 overs)
Fall of wickets: 9, 60, 149, 192, [...] 372, 419, 443.
Bowling: Ambrose 42-10-96-5, W[alsh ...] 84-1; Benjamin 27-6-81-3, Bishop [...] 0; Hooper 23-7-56-1.

WEST INDIES
First Innings
S C Williams c Russell b Malcolm
S L Campbell c Russell b Fraser
K C G Benjamin c Atherton b Cork
B C Lara c Fraser b Malcolm
*R B Richardson c Hick b Cork
C L Hooper c Russell b Malcolm
S Chanderpaul c Gallian b Cork
†C O Browne not out
I R Bishop run out
C E L Ambrose not out
Extras (b5, lb20, w5, nb2)
Total (for 8 dec, 163 overs)
Fall of wickets: 40, 94, 202, 2[...] 653, 686.
Did not bat: C A Walsh.
Bowling: Malcolm 39-7-160-3; F[raser ...] 155-1; Watkinson 26-3-113-0; Co[rk ...] 3, Gallian 12-1-56-0; Hick 10-[...]

ENGLAND
Second Innings
J E R Gallian c Williams b Ambrose
*M A Atherton c Browne b Bishop
J P Crawley c Browne b Ambrose
G P Thorpe c Williams b Walsh
G A Hick not out
A P Wells not out
Extras (lb4, nb5)
Total (for 4, 98 overs)
Fall of wickets: 60, 64, 132, 2[...]
Bowling: Walsh 28-7-80-1; Am[brose ...] 36-2; Hooper 22-11-26-0; Chand[erpaul ...] 22-0; Bishop 22-4-58-1; Lara 1-[...]

Sports Diary Mark Redding

Olazabal the easy Ryder

IAN WOOSNAM's worst fears were realised when the European golf captain Bernard Gallacher named Jose-Maria Olazabal as the final member of his Ryder Cup team to play the United States at Oak Hill from September 22 to 24.

Nick Faldo had already been handed the other wild card, to join the automatic selections Bernhard Langer, Sam Torrance, Costantino Rocca, Severiano Ballesteros, David Gilford, Mark James, Howard Clark, Per-Ulrik Johansson, Philip Walton and Colin Montgomerie, who won the German Open at Stuttgart.

"If I'm not playing there's no way I want to be there next month," Woosnam had said. "I will most probably not even bother to watch."

ALAIN PROST is to test drive for the McLaren Formula One team, possibly paving the way back for a return to grand-prix racing. The 40-year-old Frenchman won three world championships with McLaren in 1985, 1986 and 1989 and another with Williams in 1993 before retiring.

GARY JACOBS failed in his attempt to take the World Boxing Council welterweight title from the American Pernell Whitaker in Atlantic City. The 29-year-old Scot struggled to last the distance and was floored twice in the final round before losing on a unanimous points decision.

In contrast, Northern Ireland's Eamonn Loughran stopped the American Tony Gannarelli in the sixth round to retain his World Boxing Organisation welterweight title at the Ulster Hall in Belfast. The referee called a halt as the challenger got up from the canvas and walked into a flurry of pulverising blows.

JEFF TARANGO was fined £18,500 and banned from two Grand Slam tournaments by the International Tennis Federation as punishment for storming off court at Wimbledon, calling an umpire "the most corrupt official in the game". The American appealed, making him eligible for the US Open, but as if to rub salt into his wounds he was fined a further £13,000 by the ATP Tour for remarks he had made after the match, against Germany's Alexander Mronz. He had already been fined £9,700 by the All England club.

ANDREW SYMONDS, the 20-year-old Anglo-Australian batsman, broke cricket's world six-hitting record when he struck 16 in an innings for Gloucestershire against Glamorgan at Abergavenny. The previous mark was 15, set by New Zealand's John Reid in 1963. Despite Symonds's first-innings 254 the County Championship match was drawn.



Symonds . . . awesome hitting

ENGLAND retained the bronze medal in hockey's European Nations Cup with an efficient 2-1 victory over Belgium, Calum Giles and Russell Garcia scoring the goals. Germany took the title by beating the Netherlands 9-8 on penalties after a disappointing 2-2 draw.

TWELVE clubs, none of them English, will contest rugby union's first European Cup when it kicks off in October. The line-up will comprise Cardiff, Swansea, Pontypridd, Toulouse, Racing Club of Paris, Milan, Treviso, Ulster, Munster, Leinster, and two district sides from Scotland which have yet to be named.

LINFORD CHRISTIE won the 100 metres at the Ivo van Damme Grand Prix in Brussels, his third victory in the third race of the Golden Four series, which offers a prize of gold bullion for the winner of all four races in a single event.

Christie also finished joint first with John Drummond of the United States in the 100 metres of the McDonald's Games at Crystal Palace. At the same meeting Britain's Jonathan Edwards produced the first legal 18 metres mark in England to win the triple jump.

THE chairman of Tottenh[am Hot]spur, Alan Sugar, has o[ffered to] sell the football club for £50[...]. Sugar was abused by fa[ns after] Spurs' defeat against Liverp[ool and] was criticised for not sp[ending] money on new players by [for]mer striker Jürgen Klinsman[n].

BRITAIN'S rowing [...] emerged from the world c[ham]pionships in Tampere, Finla[nd ...] six boats qualified for nex[t year's] Olympic Games. There wer[e ...] medals for the lightweight [...] Peter Haining and the cox[less ...] of Steve Redgrave and Matthe[w Pin]sent, and silvers for the me[n's ...] less four, the men's light[weight] eight, the women's lightwei[ght ...] and the women's lightweight [...].

BELGIAN police detained a[bout] 300 German fans after in[cidents] in Brussels city centre b[efore] Wednesday's soccer [...] against Germany. The match [...] marked the opening of the [...]tional stadium built on the [...] Heysel, was won 2-1 by Ger[many]. Möller scored twice for the [...] the winner coming from a re[...] when his penalty kick was sa[ved by] Bodert after Goossens had e[qual]ised for Belgium.

Motor Racing Belgian Grand Prix

Suspended ban for Schumacher

Alan Henry at Spa-Francorchamps

THE SEASON of scrapes and ill-feeling continued for Damon Hill and Michael Schumacher in the Belgian Grand Prix, when the German world champion took first place and was then handed a one-race ban, suspended for four races.

The penalty came after a protest by the Williams team on behalf of Hill, who complained that he had been the victim of bad and unacceptable driving by Schumacher. The German, he said, had deliberately banged wheels with him on the 23rd lap.

Race stewards said the ban was for infringing the Code of Driving Conduct. Schumacher's Benetton team immediately lodged an appeal.

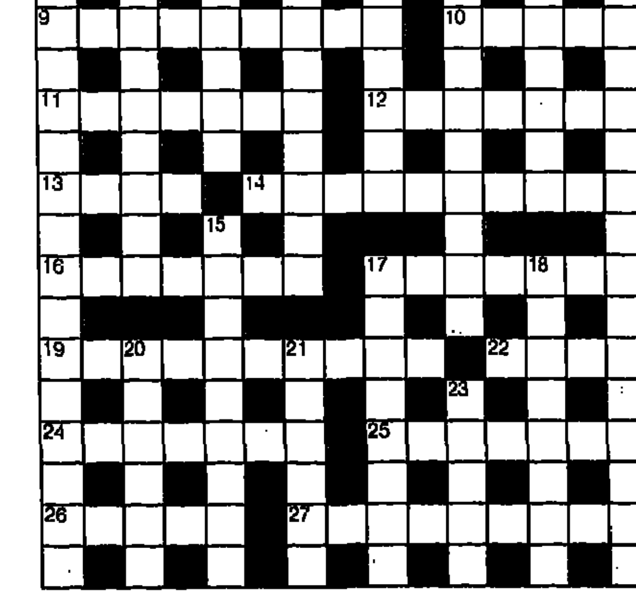
Schumacher said he had studied videotape evidence of the incidents in which Hill claimed he had driven dangerously, but could see nothing wrong. "I don't accept it. I don't agree with it and I see no reason for it. I will appeal," he said. He had been told that the ban would not come into effect unless he committed driving offences at any of the next four races.

It was a nerve-racking race in which Hill had to settle for second place. Schumacher drove brilliantly, gambling to stay on dry-weather slicks when the circuit was soaked by a shower. Yet he attracted Hill's criticism by constantly weaving from side to side when the Englishman's Williams, running quicker on rain tyres, came up behind him on lap 22. "If the rules do not prevent drivers from using cars as instruments to prevent other cars from overtaking, in other words to forcibly drive at another car, then the rules are wrong," said Hill.

His efforts were further undermined by five pit stops. He eventually scrambled past Martin Brundle's Ligier to take second place on the final lap and now trails Schumacher by 15 points.

The front-row Ferraris of Jean Alesi and Gerhard Berger wilted with mechanical problems, leaving David Coulthard's Williams in command ahead of Hill by the end of the sixth lap. By that point Schumacher was up to fifth place from 16th, harrying Eddie Irvine's Jordan, and he moved ahead into fourth on lap 11.

Coulthard retired from the lead on lap 14 with gearbox trouble, and Irvine's Jordan caught fire during a refuelling stop but the conflagration was quickly extinguished. Behind Brundle, Heinz-Harald Frentzen finished fourth in his Sauber ahead of Mark Blundell's McLaren. Johnny Herbert came in seventh.



Hot seat . . . Eddie Irvine escaped unscathed when his Jordan went up in flames after a refuelling valve jammed PHOTOGRAPH BEN RADFORD

Rugby Union

Amateurism ditched as player pay gets go-ahead

Robert Armstrong

WORLD rugby switched dramatically from amateur to fully open status last weekend, exactly 100 years after the split which divided the game into league and union. After three days of intense discussion in a Paris hotel, the International Board announced its decision to ditch the amateur regulations in favour of professionalism and to lift all restrictions on payments to players.

The transition to a new era took a number of member unions by surprise, particularly those who are strapped for cash to pay for professional rugby. However, the IB has given each of its 67 unions carte blanche to draw up domestic regulations which could retain some form of amateurism.

None of the 20 representatives who attended the Paris meeting was in any doubt, though, that sweeping changes were necessary. At a stroke the hypocrisy of shamateurism has been brought to an end; instead, an honest recognition of the role commercial forces have to play has been made.

Peter Brook, one of England's two IB representatives, spoke for the vast majority of his colleagues when he gave the decision a warm welcome. "We were sick of the charade and the lack of honesty and credibility in the game," he said.

"We will frame a new set of regulations in Tokyo next month and after that individual unions, including the Rugby Football Union, will get down to the task of altering their own by-laws."

Vernon Pugh, chairman of the IB working party on amateurism which recommended the change, declared: "We are entering a very different world. The game will change for all, players and administrators alike. The decision of the council is extremely positive and bold."

However, Tony Hallett, the RFU secretary, sounded a note of caution for a domestic game that has a huge majority of amateur players, nearly 200,000 in England alone.

"A lot of areas are bound to cause great concern, especially as there is a danger that the richest clubs will get all the pickings. The RFU committee is well prepared for the disappearance of the word 'amateurism' but the changes have gone further perhaps than some people might have wished," he said.

It is thought likely that within two or three seasons most UK Courage League One clubs will pay their players a salary. England internationals are also expected to receive about £5,000 a match.

In fact, the door has been left open for each union to amend its own by-laws in its best interest. It is understood that Argentina and Ireland will draw up a tight quasi-amateur definition of the game.

This month the IB will consider a reverse gangway from league back to union for former union players young enough to pursue an international career in the 15-man code.

Soccer Premiership Sheff Wed 0 Newcastle Utd 2

Ginola in the ascendant

David Lacey

NEWCASTLE UNITED took over at the top of the Premiership with a daunting display that confirmed their billing as this season's title favourites.

For a long time at Hillsborough, Sheffield Wednesday's new learning under David Pleat threatened to deprive Kevin Keegan's team of their third victory in nine days.

Then *la belle alliance* of David Ginola and Peter Beardsley brought the goals which took Newcastle back above the only other club with a perfect record, Leeds, who had beaten Aston Villa 24 hours earlier.

Wednesday's afternoon began to go flat in the 53rd minute. Beardsley's swiftly taken short corner on the left gave Ginola time to take the ball inside and drag it on to his right foot before beating Pressman with an immaculate shot into the far corner of the net.

"David Ginola has a special talent," said Keegan, "and this sort of talent has to find the right place to play. I think he's found it now."

With 15 minutes remaining Ginola's pass up the left-hand touchline found Beardsley who, from the tightest of angles, looped the ball over Pressman and into the net off far post.

Soccer results

FA CARLING PREMIERSHIP
Bolton W 2, Blackburn 1; Coventry 0, Arsenal 0; Everton 2, Southampton 0; Leeds Utd 2, Aston Villa 0; Manchester Utd 3, Wimbledon 1; Middlesbrough 2, Chelsea 0; Nottm Forest 1, West Ham 1; QPR 1, Manchester City 0; Sheffield Wed 0, Newcastle Utd 2; Tottenham 1, Liverpool 3.

ENDSLEIGH LEAGUE: First Division
Birmingham 3, Norwich 1; C Palace 1, Charlton 1; Derby 1, Grimsby 1; Luton 1, Leicester 1; Millwall 0, Southend 0; Oldham 2, Sheffield Utd 1; Portsmouth 0, Reading 0; Stoke 0, Port Vale 1; Sunderland 2, Wolverhampton 0; Tranmere 3, Huddersfield 1; Watford 2, Barnsley 3; West Brom 0, Ipswich 0.

Second Division: Bradford C 3, Shrewsbury 1; Bristol C 1, Stockport County 0; Burnley 1, Brentford 0; Carlisle 0, Swindon 1; Hull City 2, Blackpool 1; Oxford Utd 1, Rotherham 1; Peterborough 0, Notts Co 1; Swansea 3, Chesterfield 2; Walsall 1, Bristol Rovers 1; Wrexham 1, Brighton 1; Wycombe 1, Bournemouth 2; York 2, Crewe 3.

Third Division: Chester 3, Plymouth 1; Colchester 3, Lincoln 0; Doncaster 0, Cardiff 0; Exeter 2, Scarborough 0; Fulham 4, Torquay 0; Gillingham 3, Cambridge 0; Hereford 3, Bury 4; L Orient 1, Darlington 1; Northampton 3, Mansfield 3; Preston 1, Wigan 1; Rochdale 4, Hartlepool 0, Scunthorpe 2, Barnet 0.

BELL'S SCOTTISH LEAGUE: Premier Division: Falkirk 2, Aberdeen 3; Hearts 1, Motherwell 1; Partick 1, Hibernian 1; Raith 0, Celtic 1; Rangers 1, Kilmarnock 0.

First Division: Dundee 1, Airdrie 1; Dunfermline 3, Dundee United 0; Greenock Morton 1, Dumbarton 2; Hamilton 0, Clydebank 2; St Mirren 0, St Johnstone 0.

Second Division: Berwick 3, Stirling 0; Clyde 1, Forfar 2; East Fife 1, Ayr 0; Montrose 1, Queen of South 4; Stenhousemuir 3, Stranraer 0.

Third Division: Alloa 3, Albion 2; Arbroath 1, Livingston 3; Caledonian T 1, Brechin 2; East Stirling 1, Ross County 2; Queen's Park 3, Cowdenbeath 1.

Cryptic crossword by Rufus

Across

9 Danes pull out completely (3,4,2)
10 State aid distributed by the Home Office (5)
11 Ban about mulled ale is in view (7)
12 One must do it to survive (7)
13 Make a note of the time perhaps (4)
14 Harmonious music for the hairdresser's ball? (10)
16 Greet us, perhaps, with a wave? (7)
17 Musical effect that's a lot more complicated (7)
19 Boy goes to an unusually arid place in Egypt (10)
22 Smart boy that is found back in France (4)
24 Sluggish movement of a train that's vandalised (7)
25 Plant daggers in Capone's back (7)
26 One eating in an American café (5)
27 Pole position? (9)

Down

1 Dancing girl associated with tramps and diggers (8,7)
2 Cries from clumsy seamen on prow of boat (8)
3 Range and directions (5)
4 Big copper's ex gets kiss (8)
5 Father about to see doctor in confidence (6)
6 Bud's tired out, having been roused from sleep (9)
7 Dad locks up an outcast (6)
8 What a diver must do who itches to make the grade? (4,2,2,7)
15 Young officer is awkward but learns (9)
17 Played with babies? (8)
18 Bribe the clergy to provide waterproof material (8)
20 Left in play (6)
21 Shows around Madras (6)
23 Cancel spaceflight, there's an unpleasant smell in craft (5)

Last week's solution

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